A COMPARISON OF JAPANESE AND BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY IN ASIA AND THEIR EFFECT ON INDIGENOUS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS THROUGH 1930

JACQUES L. FUQUA, JR.

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Jacques L. Fuqua, Jr.

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Gregory Kazsa, Ph.D., Chairperson

Masters Committee

Richard Rubinger, Ph.D.

M. Jeanne Peterson, Ph.D.

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The major sources of information for Parts I and II, came primarily from secondary sources, to include extensive use of numerous doctoral dissertations treating the Japanese presence in Korea and its effect on education. Primary source information came from newspaper accounts of events contained in the New York Times and from speeches made by members of the Japanese colonial administration in Korea. Additionally, I relied on numerous monographs and journal articles.

The major sources of information in Part III, came from both primary and secondary sources. The preponderance of primary source information came from statistical abstracts and census information related to Burma contained in the House of Commons Sessional Papers of the British Parliament, and the London Times news accounts of events in Burma. Secondary source information came from several dissertations treating the British presence in Burma as well as numerous monographs and journal articles.

Introduction

The focus of this study is the comparison of nineteenth and twentieth-century Japanese and British colonial policy in Asia and its effect on indigenous education systems. As points of comparison, I will use Great Britain in Burma and Japan in Korea.

The countries represent, at least superficially, opposite ends of a continuum. Japan was a member of the nations of East Asia, Great Britain an outside imperial power. Similarly, Japan shared some cultural affinity with the nations of East Asia while Great Britain had none with the countries of Southeast Asia. In late nineteenth-century, Japan was a newcomer to the membership of imperial nations, whereas Great Britain represented the older, more established imperial powers.

Given these obvious differences, one would expect to find wide variances in the perceptions each country had of its relationship with its respective colony. Even given this, however, there was one very basic similarity. Each country perceived its respective colony as lacking in cultural development. Thus, each saw a need to conduct a civilizing mission and used education as the primary tool through which to accomplish the civilizing mission. Therefore, I will treat the basic colonial policies of both countries and the effects they had on the indigenous

education systems through 1930. I have selected education as the measure of culture because I consider it to be the basic element of any culture; without education, in some form, there is no cultural continuity. Additionally, education was the basic tool both Japan and Great Britain used to facilitate their colonial aims.

In Part I, I will treat general colonial theory. In Part II, the focus will be on Japanese colonial theory and policy and their effect on colonial education policy carried out in Korea. In Part III, I will treat the overall colonial policies of Great Britain in Burma and their effect on education policy. In Part IV, I will compare the successes and failures of both systems.

PART I

COLONIAL THEORY

Defining the Problem

The focus of this study is modern Japanese and British colonialism in Asia and its effect on education. I define modern as post-1850 because of the historically significant changes Japan and Great Britain underwent after 1850. Japan shed its feudal type society and embarked on a course of Western industrialization after the Meiji restoration in 1868. In the case of Great Britain in Burma, its post-1850 policy signalled a departure from its earlier laissez-faire policies; after 1850 it practiced a greater degree of direct intervention.

A basic definition explains imperialism as a deliberate act of territorial encroachment perpetrated by one nation against another in an attempt to effect subjugation. The motivation for subjugation can be either strategic, economic, or military.[1]

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[1] I relied on a number of sources to compose this definition of "imperialism", the major works of which are represented by: Philip D. Curtin,.ed., Imperialism (New York, San Francisco, London: Harper and Rowe Publishers, 1971) Renate Zahar, Franz Fanon: Colonialism and Alienation, trans. Willfried F. Feuser (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1974), 1-59. Mary Evelyn Townsend, Colonial Expansion Since 1871 (Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, 1941), 8-15. D.K. Fieldhouse, Colonialism, 1870-1945 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981).

Colonialism, on the other hand, must be considered separately. Although both include similar elements, imperialism gives rise to colonialism; they are not the same thing. Where the focal point of imperialism is on the society which perpetrates subjugation, colonialism focusses on the subjugated society. Thus, modern colonialism, can be defined as the condition of political and/or cultural subjugation of a society accomplished through a colonial power's direct administration of a territory.[2]

Theories of Colonialism

Modern colonial theory identifies four possible types of colonial systems under which a colonial power might administer its territory. They are assimilation, subjection, association, and autonomy.[3] Assimilation is a call for the full political and cultural absorption of a colony into the political or cultural framework of the colonial power. According to Roberts:

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[2] I relied on a number of sources to compose this definition of "colonialism", the major works of which are represented by: Curtin, Imperialism. Zahar, Franz Fanon, 1-59. Townsend, Colonial Expansion, 8-15. Fieldhouse, Colonial - ism, 1870-1945.

[3] Stephen H. Roberts, History of French Colonial Practice, 1970-1925 (London: King and Son, 1929), 64-75.

"there are no separate services for the colonies. The army is the same, the colonial administrative corps is but an extension of the metropolis."[4]

Roberts defines subjection as the process by which the colony's indigenous political and cultural structure is supplanted by a system of the power's choosing. He writes:

"government is rigidly kept under central control, representation of colonial interest is unknown, the very concept of separate colonial interest is denied."[5]

Association is a policy of laissez-faire which embraces a "live and let live" philosophy between the colonial power and its colony. It is a relationship "impregnated with an altruistic spirit."[6]

Roberts defines autonomy as a system under which the indigenous political and cultural structure is permitted to exist without interference from the colonial power. The

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[4] Roberts, French Colonial Practice, 68-9; as quoted in Dong Wonmo, "Japanese Colonial Policy and Practice in Korea," diss., Georgetown University, 1965, 7.

[5] Roberts, French Colonial Practice, 65; as quoted in Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 5.

[6] A. Sarraut, La Mise en Valeur des Colonies Francaises (1923), 87; as quoted in Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy,", 8.

uniqueness of the indigenous society is recognized and left intact.[7]

A notable characteristic of the above theories is their lack of mutual exclusivity. A colonial power might administer a colony under a system comprised of elements from one or more of the colonial theories. The Japanese colonial administration in Korea is a good example. Its overall policy of assimilation was, in large measure, based on the cultural and political subjugation of the Korean people.

Similarly, once a system was employed, it did not necessarily become static. A given colonial power could change over time the system it used to administer its colonies, much as the British did in Burma. Initially, the British administered Burma under a system of modified association. By 1923, however, a more autonomous system was in place, as evidenced by the promulgation of the Burmese constitution.[8]

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[7] Roberts, French Colonial Practice, 67; cited in Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 6.

[8] Carleton Ames, "Impacts of British Rule in Burma, 1890-1948," diss., University of Wisconsin, 1950, 64-65.

PART II

JAPANESE ASSIMILATION POLICY

A General Perspective

Japanese involvement in Korean affairs from the signing of the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876 assumed different forms over time based upon the prevailing international situation. For example, the dominant concern prior to the Sino-Japanese War was wresting Korea out of the centuries-old suzerain-vassal relationship with China.[9] The Japanese accomplished this under a ruse of concern for Korea's national sovereignty. Priorities shifted during the 1890s and 1900s once Russia became Japan's primary East Asian competitor as a result of a Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese war.[10] Because Russian designs were territorial expansion in North East Asia, Japan's concerns assumed a wider strategic orientation.

Although Japanese intervention was tied to shifts in the international situation, one theme which presented itself as continuous was the Japanese desire for control of Korea's foreign and domestic affairs. This desire to

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[9] Michael Montgomery, Imperialist Japan: The Yen to Dominate (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 116-117.

[10] Montgomery, The Yen to Dominate, 165-186.

control ultimately found form in the Japanese attempt to obliterate the indigenous Korean political and cultural institutions during the late nineteenth and twentieth-centuries--according to the models proffered by Roberts', assimilation.

Japanese assimilation theory can be divided into two parts, cultural and political assimilation, the latter coming about only after the former had been accomplished.[11] For the purposes of the present work, the focus will be on cultural assimilation.

A quick word would be helpful regarding the differences between Japanese assimilation and annexation policies. Assimilation policy was the system the Japanese employed to administer the Korean colony--the mechanism through which the Japanese sought to de-nationalize the Korean population. Annexation, on the other hand, was the policy of territorial expansion onto continental Asia, driven by concerns of strategy and security.

The assimilation policy Japan followed in Korea sought to obliterate all vestiges of cultural and political distinctions between it and Korea. The best definition of the aims of Japanese assimilation policy is offered by Dr. Kada Tadaomi, professor of economics at Keio University, in his 1940 essay entitled Shokumin seisaku (Colonial Policy).

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[11] Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 197-198; 215-216.

In it he advances the idea that Japanese assimilation policy:

> .....is based not on the spirit of liberty and equality, but quite the contrary, on the ideal of guidance by a superior. It aims at offering the colony the superiority and progress of the home state. Since there are differences of language, traditions, and customs between the home state and its colony, there exists an attempt to unify these different elements in favor of the home state. Under the paternalistic, bureaucratic polity, the legal rights of the natives in the colony are discriminatory in comparison with those enjoyed by the inhabitants of the mother country.[12]

The theme of assimilation was present throughout the Japanese occupation. A brief review of the official statements propounded by the various Governors-General, beginning with Terauchi Masatake (1852-1919), the first Governor-General of Korea, reveals the commitment of the respective colonial administrations to following a policy of assimilation.

For example, General Terauchi articulated in his Proclamation of Annexation of August 1910 that:

"It is a natural and inevitable course of things that two peoples whose countries are in close proximity with each other, whose interests are identical and who are bound

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[12] Kada Tadaomi, Shokumin Seisaku [Colonial Policy] (Tokyo: Diamond, 1940), 94; as quoted in Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 28.

together with brotherly feelings, should amalgamate and form one body."[13]

As Terauchi's was the first colonial administration after annexation, this provides one of the first instances of assimilation being offered as the official doctrine of the colonial government.[14]

That General Hasegawa Yoshimichi (1850-1924), Terauchi's successor, followed the same line of thinking becomes clear through an inspection of two public statements he delivered during the course of his administration. In the first, he advocated unflinching support for following the policy line established by Terauchi.

"I do not know much about politics, and all I intend to do is follow the way established by Terauchi."[15]

In the second, he rationalized the assimilation policy via a more original line of rhetoric.

> ".....Consequently, the administration of Korea is proceeding on the basis of an assimilation policy following the principle of universal brotherhood, hoping to accord impartial treatment. The difference of language, customs, and

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[13] Annual Report, 1910-1911, 242; as quoted in Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 25.

[14] Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 24-27.

[15] -----as quoted in: Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 210.

civilization makes it impossible to adopt the same administrative measures in both territories."[16]

The difference in tone between the two statements can probably be attributed to the fact that the former was delivered at the outset of his administration. The latter was delivered in 1919, three years into his administration.

Admiral Saitō Makoto (1858-1936) assumed the reigns of leadership from Hasegawa and proved equally adept at regurgitating the established party line of the colonial administration, albeit with a more conciliatory tone.[17]

With the assignment of General Ugaki Kazushige (1868-1956) as the Governor-General in 1931, new impetus was placed on the speed with which assimilation should be accomplished. Whether or not it should be, was never questioned. Ugaki offered:

"First, regarding the assimilation of Japanese and Koreans--namely the harmony of the Homeland and Korea--I think efforts must be to make a new, big step. In the past,

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[16] Kanpō (Official Gazette) 1 July 1919; as quoted in Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 214.

[17] David Brudnoy, "Japan's Experiment in Korea," Monumenta Nipponica 25 (1970), 172-179.

authorities have tried very hard in this matter, but still much needs to be done.[18]

The above statement is very telling in that it hinted at the limited success of Japan's assimilation policy up to that point--the hearts and minds of the Koreans had not yet been won over despite the more than twenty years which had elapsed since annexation. It also hints at a growing frustration at the inability of the Governor-Generalship to effect that change. This inability to effect change, along with the growing continental tensions against China and preparations for all out war, led General Minami Jirō (1874-1957) to institute a much wider policy of assimilation in 1936.[19] His policies, termed naisen ittai, essentially called for the annihilation of all vestiges of Korean cultural distinctiveness; obliteration of language, history, education and Korean surnames were characteristic of his regime.[20]

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[18] Ugaki Kazushige, Ugaki Nikki [Ugaki Diary] (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun, 1954) 144-145; as quoted in Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 319.

[19] Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 326-329.

[20] Brudnoy, "Japan's Experiment in Korea," Monumenta Nipponica 25 (1970), 172-179.

Basis of Japanese Assimilation Policy

I believe Japanese assimilation policy was rooted in three fundamental factors.

1) Japanese perceptions of their own superiority.
2) Japanese perceptions of the cultural inferiority of the Koreans.
3) The long interactive history between the two nations.

These three factors combined during the late nineteenth-century to form the first concrete foundation of future assimilation policy.

Sources of Japanese Perceptions of Superiority

The origins of Japanese beliefs in their own superiority can be traced to eighteenth-century kokugaku (National Learning) thought. Kokugaku study centered on ancient texts like the Kojiki and Nihon shoki and sought to build a body of knowledge and system of beliefs around which

Japanese cultural superiority and uniqueness could be justified.[21] Kokugaku thinkers sought to accomplish this by simultaneously attacking foreign elements like Confucianism as a defiling element in Japanese society, while extolling the virtues of Japanese nativism.[22]

The first attempt at malignment of Confucianism is evident in the writings of Kada no Azumamaro (1669-1736), the first major eighteenth-century kokugakusha (National Learning Scholar). Peter Nosco, an historian of kokugaku thought, wrote:

> Kada no Azumamaro...postulated an adversarial relationship between nativism and Confucian thought--a necessary step for the independent growth of national learning...and his vilification of Confucian and Buddhist doctrines established the xenophobia of his successors.[23]

The major theme to emerge from the writings of Kada no Azumamaro, which recurs throughout eighteenth-century kokugaku thought and forms the basis of nineteenth-century nationalism, is the cultural superiority of the Japanese vis a' vis other Confucian-oriented Northeast Asian cultures.

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[21] For more information on the development of kokugaku thought and its development in Japanese culture see Shimazaki Tōson, Before the Dawn, trans. William Naff (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987. For fuller treatment of Kokugaku around the themes contained in the Kojiki and Nihon shoki, ancient texts used to provide the justification for the existing political and social order see Peter Nosco, Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia Eighteenth-Century Japan (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990).

[22] Nosco, Remembering Paradise, 11.

[23] Nosco, Remembering Paradise, 11.

This superiority is based on the belief in the existence of a Japanese "true heart." Nosco describes this as "a birth right of being Japanese. They [kokugakusha] asserted that the beatific quality of life they believed their forbears to have enjoyed stemmed from their possession of a genetic element of perfection....[they] believed Japanese at birth still possessed this true heart."[24] These trends in kokugaku thought continued throughout the eighteenth-century without any substantial contextual modification.

The teachings of Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) are often cited as representative of later kokugaku thought.[25] His teachings also criticized Confucian teachings while providing a basis for belief in Japanese superiority. The difference between the teachings of Motoori Norinaga and Kada no Azumamaro was not so much in content as it was in degree. Motoori Norinaga taught that Japanese superiority was not solely over other East Asian countries; it existed between Japan and all nations.[26] The ultimate manifestation of these beliefs found form in the Japanese version of a unique nation-state with the emperor as its father figure.

Kokugaku thought continued along a similar vain into the nineteenth-century through such scholars as Hirata

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[24] Nosco, Remembering Paradise, 12.

[25] Nosco, Remembering Paradise, 159.

[26] Nosco, Remembering Paradise, 13.

Atsutane (1776-1843) and his adopted son, Hirata Kanetane (1779-1880). Their teachings, however, had a wide influence.[27] That Hirata Atsutane's teachings had a far reaching effect on political thought during the nineteenth-century is suggested by William Naff in his translation of Shimazaki Tōson's *Before the Dawn*. In it he describes Hirata Atsutane's teachings as:

"having been responsible for setting the intellectual tone of the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods....it was the single major source of the ideology of the restoration movement."[28]

By the nineteenth-century, kokugaku teachings had begun to spread to the non-elitist sectors of society. For example, the teachings of Kada no Azumamaro were directed primarily at an educated population: the upper echelons of the society.[29] By the late eighteenth-century, Motoori Norinaga had begun to effect a shift in the focal point of the teachings to the commoner and farmer.[30]

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27 Shimazaki Tōson, Before the Dawn, 770-771.

28 Shimazaki Tōson, Before the Dawn, 770-771.

29 Nosco, Remembering Paradise, 72-76.

30 Nosco, Remembering Paradise, 207-208.

The shift was completed by Hirata Atsutane.[31] The spread of kokugaku thought to wider segments of the population suggests a much greater influence of kokugaku ideas. Thus, kokugaku teachings provided a channel through which nineteenth-century perceptions of Japanese superiority took root and upon which part of the later justification for assimilation policy took place.

Japanese-Korean Interactive Cultural Links

Japanese and Korean cultures have shared a high level of interaction since the era of Shotoku Taishi, (574 AD-622 AD).[32] Use of the word "sharing" may be a misnomer; their history of cultural interaction was not based on an equitable relationship. The Japanese seem to have benefitted disproportionately as a result of the Chinese culture Korea transmitted to Japan via Korean scribes. During the seventh-century, Shotoku Taishi, renowned for his political, social, and religious reforms, was taught by Haeja, a Buddhist monk from the Koguryo region of Korea.[33] The Koreans also helped the Japanese put their language into

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[31] Shimazaki Tōson, Before the Dawn, 44-759.

[32] Hatada Takashi, "Significance of Korean History," The Japanese Interpreter Vol. IX No. 2 (1974): 165-166.

[33] Lee Changsoo and George De Vos, Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 11.

written form by introducing the use of Chinese ideographs. The Chinese writing system was simultaneously introduced with Mahayana Buddhism via Korean scribes.[34] During the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, a Korean scholar, Kang Hang (1567-1618) laid the foundation for Tokugawa era (1600-1868) Neo-Confucianism.[35] Contact between the two nations continued, albeit on a more limited basis, even through the sakoku period, Japan's self-imposed period of isolation during the Tokugawa period. Limited trade was conducted at Tsushima Island located in the Korea Strait separating Japan from Korea.[36] Given the extensive contact between the two nations, what led Japan to follow a policy of assimilation in Korea, the only colony in which it attempted to enact such a policy? The first cause was the long-standing Japanese historical claim to ownership of southern Korea. The basis of this contention was that a large part of southern Korea, the Mimana colony, was at one time controlled by Yamato rulers.[37] The colony was formed sometime before 3 A.D. and isolated from the rest of the peninsula by natural barriers. This isolation led to the

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[34] Satō Seizaburō, Response to the West: The Korean and Japanese Patterns, ed. Albert M. Craig (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979) 108.

[35] Satō, The Korean and Japanese Patterns, 108.

[36] Conrad Totman, Japan Before Perry: A Short History (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1981), 147.

[37] Hatada, Significance of Korean History," The Japan Interpreter, 165.

growth of extensive cultural and commercial contact between the Mimana colony and the Yamato clan and formed the basis of Japanese claims to ownership.[38]

The second cause lies in the role Korea played as the conduit for Chinese culture. During the nineteenth-century, the Japanese came to perceive Korea as lacking an indigenous culture and an independent existence. The 1880s were the pivotal point during which the ideas of the role of Korea as transmitter of Chinese culture, Japanese historical claims to Korea, and legacies of kokugaku teachings all conjoined. The writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), a leading nineteenth-century proponent of Western learning, provided the initial definition for the vast array of concepts relating to this emerging body of thought. Fukuzawa wrote of Korea in 1882:

> Since citizens of Korea have nothing to live for they would, if anything, be happier to allow their country to be taken over....To have one's country destroyed by the government of another and thus become a people without a country is by no means a happy fate. Yet rather than living in hopeless misery...as the object of scorn by others, it would be better to have one's life properly protected securely.[39]

In considering the future leadership of East Asia, Fukuzawa contended:

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[38] "Kaya," Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th edition, 1987.

[39] -------as quoted in: Michael Weiner, The Origins of the Korean Community in Japan (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities International Press, 1989), 16.

"I do not mean to brag about my own country, but in all fairness to my unprejudiced judgement, I must conclude that no other country can take leadership in East Asia except Japan."[40]

Thus, Fukuzawa established both the lack of Korean independence and Japan as the natural choice for the next hegemon of East Asia.

The 1890s witnessed a further development of these themes. For the first time claims emerged in official and semi-official channels as to the backwardness of Korea and the moral obligation of a superior Japan to help.[41] Many of the claims found expression in the writings of prominent educators. The two most often cited contentions were that: (1) Korean education during the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910) had become stagnant and barren; and (2) only the advanced Japanese education system could save it.[42]

In 1892, educators in Japan established the Overseas Education Academy, the members of which were prominent Japanese educators. The aim of the organization was to develop a viable system of education to transplant onto the

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[40] Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Chōsen no kōsai o ronzu," [Discussing Friendship with Korea] in Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū, VIII, 30; as quoted in Sang Il Han, "Uchida Ryōhei and Japanese Continental Expansionism, 1874-1916," diss., Claremont College, 1974, 22.

[41] Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 68-80.

[42] Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 68.

mainland, particularly Korea.[43] One of the group's leading members, Tanaka Tosaku, provided a general critique of the Korean education system and concluded it was a stagnant and barren system. He also concluded that because of the long-standing cultural contact between the two countries, it was incumbent upon the Japanese to actively help in Korea's time of need.[44]

By 1899, these themes assumed even more officious tones as Dr. Yoshida Masao, a leading Japanese educator, extolled Toyotomi Hideyoshi's (1536-1598) efforts at expansion onto the Korean peninsula. He offered this in a national history textbook for Japan's high schools. In the same textbook, he contended that Korea was the "ancient domain" of Japan and that "Korea was incapable of being independent."[45] For this reason, Japan had a mission to civilize the Koreans.

To understand the full implications of such a statement, one must consider that Japanese high school students represented a small elite group who were being educated beyond the level of most other students. They were

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[43] Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 68-70.

[44] Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 71.

[45] Kozawa Yūsaku, Minzoku Kyoiku-ron [A Discourse on National Education] (Tokyo: Meiji Shupansha, 1967) 120-124, 127, and 129; as quoted in Hung, "Japan's Colonial Education Policy", 65.

the ones most likely to move into positions of influence and power in the government bureaucracy and business.[46]

How then was assimilation policy transplanted onto the Korean peninsula? The tairiku rōnin, or ultra-national continental activists, provided the primary channel through which assimilation was carried out in Korea. The activities of the tairiku rōnin were at the vanguard of a nationalist movement calling for a move toward Dai Ajia shugi, or "Pan-Asianism." Its goal was to achieve cohesion among Asian countries under Japanese leadership despite Western encroachment. The activities of the tairiku rōnin were carried out through two ultra-nationalist organizations--the Genyōsha, founded in 1881 by Hiraoka Kōtarō (1851-1906), and the Kokuryūkai (Amur River Society), founded in 1901 by Uchida Ryōhei (1874-1937).[47]

That the tairiku rōnin leaned toward some type of assimilation policy in Korea is evidenced in the writings of Tarui Tokichi (1850-1922). Tarui was a member of the Japanese Diet and considered a pioneer among the tairiku rōnin.[48] In his renowned work, Daitō gappō ron (Discussion

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[46] Donald F. Roden, Schooldays in Imperial Japan: A Study in the Culture of a Student Elite (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 40-41.

[47] Janet E. Hunter, Concise Dictionary of Modern Japanese History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 49, 98.

[48] Sang, Uchida Ryōhei, 26-36.

on the Great Oriental Federation) in 1893, Tarui argued for a full merger of Korea and Japan into a single nation called daitō. The nexus of the merger was the natural friendship and cultural ties shared between the two nations. He also "demanded that Japan and Korea demonstrate the companionship of a family and become united."[49] As to who was to lead this new country, Sang writes:

Regarding the method of merger and the political system after it was accomplished, Tarui was not clear....but he certainly did not mean that Korea would have responsibility for the new nation."[50]

How were the ideas of the tairiku rōnin transformed into official policy? This was accomplished through leading tairiku rōnin advocates like Uchida Ryōhei. Uchida was, simultaneously, president of the ultra-nationalist group, Kokuryūkai, and a member of Itō Hirobumi's (1841-1909) Resident-General staff.[51] By 1907, Uchida had become disenchanted with Itō's protectorate policies and had begun to criticize them in official circles as having been too gradual and ineffective. Specifically, Uchida directed much of his criticism of the protectorate and ideas on Japanese

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[49] Sang, Uchida Ryōhei, 190.

[50] Sang, Uchida Ryōhei, 31.

[51] Sang, Uchida Ryōhei, 85; 152-154.

annexation and amalgamation of Korea to Katsura Tarō (1848-1913), the Prime Minister of Japan.[52]

JAPANESE COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICY

Japanese Education Policy in Korea: An Overview

The basic aims of Japanese education policy in Korea throughout the occupation period were:

> 1) To promote the overall policy of assimilation by establishing a Korean education system based upon the principles contained in the Japanese Imperial Rescript on Education.
>
> 2) To secure Korean obedience by obliterating the Korean language, customs, and history and replacing it with Japanese elements; in effect, to denationalize the Korean population.
>
> 3) To emphasize the idea of practical learning over learning for the sake of the accumulation of knowledge.[53]

These aims find their origins in the principle of kokutai, the definition of which encompasses many different concepts. There are, however, three recurring themes. First was the belief in the existence of the emperor as the highest power in the state. Second was the filial piety and loyalty governing the relationship between the emperor and

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[52] Sang, Uchida Ryōhei, 192.

[53] Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 369-423. Hung, "Japan's Colonial Education Policy", 119-136; 174-210. Sung-hwa Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education, 1885-1950," diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1958, 71-133.

his people which made the nation an organic whole.[54] Third was the Japanese belief in their own superiority which stemmed from their divine origins as a nation and people.[55] Here is the essence of Japanese education efforts in Korea. Because of the widely accepted views that Japan had an historical right to rule Korea and the perception that Korea had entered a period of cultural stagnancy, Japan attempted to re-model Korean society. Education was the vehicle through which they sought to accomplish it. In my estimation, the important point regarding the Japanese education system in Korea is that it differed a little from the aims of Japan's domestic education system. The major point to bear in mind is that the Japanese were attempting to force Korean compliance to a system which was foreign to them.

Foundations of Japanese Home Education Policy

As in most modern states, education in Japan called for indoctrinating the citizenry to values the government deemed most important. Hunter, a Japanese historian, writes:

> all children were susceptible to the moral and political inculcation of which the education system was the principal agent. Textbooks,

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[54] Hunter, Concise Dictionary, 98.

[55] Harold J. Wray, "Changes and Continuities in Japanese Images of the Kokutai and Attitudes and Roles Towards the Outside," diss., University of Hawaii, 1971, 18.

> teaching methods, and topics of study were all strictly controlled by the state, which continued in the time-honored tradition to view education as its servant, and not as a means of individual development.[56]

A central theme incorporated into domestic Japanese education policy from about 1880, was a course in shūshin, or perfection of moral character.[57] The origin of shūshin can be traced to the 1879 revision of the 1872 Education Act.[58]

The crux of shūshin was building the individual's moral character in order to better serve the state. An inherent part of shūshin was the discard of Western elements of individualism, i.e., self-fulfillment, personal achievement, etc. Emphasis came to be placed on loyalty and filial piety.[59] Thus, education assumed an indoctrinating role and Japanese authorities placed education for individual growth on the periphery. Along with this, imperial wisdom called for inculcating moral values from a very early age. Hane, a Japanese historian, wrote:

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[56] Janet E. Hunter, The Emergence of Modern Japan (London and New York: Longman Press, 1989), 194.

[57] Mikiso Hane, Peasants, Rebels, and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 55.

[58] Hane, Peasants, Rebels, and Outcasts, 55.

[59] Hane, Peasants, Rebels, and Outcasts, 56; 58-59.

"The emperor also expressed the opinion that moral concepts must be instilled in children at an early age by setting up certain loyal, righteous and virtuous individuals as models for them to emulate."[60]

Mori Arinori (1847-1889), the Minister of Education, further developed an educational philosophy centered on shūshin during the 1880s. His efforts focused on:
1) continuing to stress the importance of training students to serve the good of the state over self-development.
2) using the schools as a means of indoctrinating students to state values.[61]

There existed some fundamental similarities in what the Japanese did in Korea and their domestic education policies. Both systems came to be based on the Imperial Rescript on Education and its inherent principles of loyalty and filial piety.[62] Both systems stressed the importance of practical learning to serve the good of the state as opposed to the accumulation of knowledge. Both also stressed the importance of making individual goals subservient to those of the state. The system of education the Japanese implemented in Korea was basically a transplant of its own

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60 Hane, Peasants, Rebels, and Outcasts, 56.

61 Hane, Peasants, Rebels and Outcasts, 57-58.

62 Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education", 83-88.

system. Its failing was that it didn't take into account the cultural differences between Koreans and Japanese.

Post-1908 Domestic Japanese Education System

The Japanese pursued assimilation by implementing a colonial education policy founded on its domestic education philosophy. Thus, in order to better understand the colonial education system, it would help to understand something of the Japanese domestic system.

In 1907, the Japanese extended compulsory education from four to six years.[63] The curriculum was divided into two parts--upper and lower elementary. The lower level consisted of instruction in morals, arithmetic, gymnastics, and composition. At the upper level, geography, history, science and drawing were added. This was the basic education system the Japanese transplanted onto the Korean peninsula during the Protectorate period through the efforts of Itō Hirobumi.[64]

The Japanese indoctrinated school children to the values deemed important by the state as expressed in the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education. These values, which included filial piety, brotherhood, diligence, affection,

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[63] Hunter, Concise Dictionary, 36.

[64] Mamaoru Oshiba, Four Articles on Japanese Education Kōbe: Maruzen Kabushiki Kaisha, 1963), 28.

humility, and loyalty to the emperor, were included in the institutional program called shūshin.[65] The aim and content of shūshin instruction in Korea differed little from the Japanese domestic system.

Until the completion of compulsory education, the system was constructed to be egalitarian. The end of elementary education, however, was designed to be a first level cut in a continual weeding process; only the best students got the opportunity to continue to the next level of schooling.[66] This process is also depicted by the chart at Appendix C. At each successive level, student enrollment decreased significantly. There also existed, for those students unable to remain in the university track, a separate track of vocational and normal schools; normal schools trained teachers.[67] Technical colleges are what the government called private colleges until 1918.[68] They served as the educational outlet for wealthy young men unable to enter public higher schools of the university. The colonial education system in Korea was constructed similarly.

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65 Oshiba, Four Articles, 29.

66 Roden, Schooldays in Imperial Japan, 40.

67 Roden, Schooldays in Imperial Japan, 40.

68 Roden, Schooldays in Imperial Japan, 44.

A word about private schools is necessary here. They existed as an alternative to public education. For those who chose to remain outside the public system altogether or were unable to advance to the next level of schooling, private education remained an option. Opportunities for a private education were possible even at the university level. The establishment of Keio and Waseda, prestigious private institutions established in 1858 and 1882 which became universities in 1918, illustrate that alternative.[69] Private education in Korea, through the second decade of the occupation, also offered a major education alternative for the Korean population.

THE JAPANESE IN KOREA

The Protectorate Period, 1905-1909

The Residency-General received its mandate to administer the Korean education system and enact education policies through the Treaty Protectorate of 1905.[70] It seems the general goal of the protectorate education system was to mirror the Japanese domestic education system as much as possible in order to facilitate de-nationalization and assimilation of Korean youth. Itō sought to accomplish this

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[69] Hunter, A Concise Dictionary 91, 242.

[70] Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 119.

by concentrating on curriculum content and education infrastructure. Consequently, his program centered on:

> 1) Restructuring and expanding the educational infrastructure.
>
> 2) Infusing the Korean education system with Japanese educational values in an attempt to de-nationalize Korean youth. The focus of education shifted to practical learning and building model imperial subjects.

Itō used the 1906 Ordinance on Education as the vehicle to accomplish his program.[71] At its most basic level, the ordinance abolished all decrees relating to Korean education which had been practiced since 1894. Itō replaced them with a two-tiered centrally controlled education system. Everything with respect to public education was controlled directly by the Residency-General through the education ministry.

The two-tiered system Itō created in Korea consisted of general and specialized education. The former addressed general student education and the latter, related to teacher, vocational, and foreign language training.[72] General education was further divided into a system of "normal" and "high" schools, the total duration of which was

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71 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 126.

72 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 127.

seven years.[73] This public system of education co-existed with an extensive system of private, mission, and village schooling.[74]

Under Itō's infrastructure expansion program, the total number of normal schools increased during the Protectorate period. For example, by 1909, fifty-one new provincial normal schools were constructed and nine renovated, for a total of sixty. This number is in comparison to the 1906 total of twenty-two.[75] The number of high schools also increased. Their number rose form a low of six in 1907 to nine in 1910.[76] The less dramatic rise in the numbers of high schools is the result of the weeding function of education and the competition from private institutions.

The goal of the school system was to provide a public system of mass education through which to create loyal imperial subjects; in effect, a system of indoctrination.[77] Consequently, Itō also used the 1906 ordinance to control the curriculum the schools offered. They very closely resembled the curriculum of Japanese domestic schools. In the normal schools, arithmetic, composition, liberal doses

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73 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 127-129.

74 Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 413-423: Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korea", 37-63.

75 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 131.

76 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 136.

77 Hane, Peasants, Rebels, and Outcasts, 54.

of Japanese language instruction, singing and gymnastics dominated.[78] High school curriculums added more intensive Japanese, Korean, and Chinese language and vocational courses.[79] Notable in Itō's education program is the lack of shūshin instruction. It was not incorporated into the curriculum until after the formal annexation of Korea.

Special schools provided opportunities for training beyond the elementary or high school levels. For those Korean students unable to continue into high school, vocational schools were an option. Those who completed high school, were eligible to compete for entrance into the teachers' school or foreign language training, depending upon the needs of the colonial government.[80]

In the category of special schools, vocational schooling received the lion's share of Itō's efforts and led to an expansion of vocational school infrastructure. By 1909, Itō's policies were responsible for the creation of fourteen new provincial-level vocational schools, enough to provide one for each capital.[81] The schools treated different subject areas, i.e., agriculture, forestry, fisheries, etc., but the bulk of instruction was offered in

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78 Oshiba, Four Articles, 28.

79 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 132.

80 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 126-127.

81 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 133.

agriculture.[82] This was in keeping with Japan's overall economic designs in Korea; one major aim was to nurture it as an agricultural center.[83]

Itō's education reforms were equally notable for what they failed to address. His belief that mass education should be limited to practical learning led to a disregard for opportunities in higher education. The Vice-Minister of Education and chief architect of the colonial education system, Tarawa Sonichi, stated in 1909 that:

> The purpose of the normal (elementary) school is not to provide the preparatory stage for higher education, but rather to train them so as to meet the requirement for their daily life....Moreover, our task is to indoctrinate the Korean children so as to be obedient subjects to the wishes of the Japanese empire. We Japanese have no plan for higher education for Korean children.[84]

I consider the education system established by Itō significant because it provided the basic education infrastructure for the colonial administration through 1922.[85] It also appears to have provided the basis for de-nationalization of the Korean population followed throughout the occupation. His policies of de-nationalizing the

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[82] Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 133.

[83] Brudnoy, "Japan's Experiment in Korea", 180-183.

[84] Chun-suk Oh, Hankook Shin Kyoyuksa (A Recent History of Korean Education) (Seoul: Hundea Kyoyuk Chulpan-sa, 1964) 145-146; as quoted in Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 131-132.

[85] Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 119-136; 174-192.

Koreans and converting them into loyal imperial subjects, i.e., indoctrination to the Imperial Rescript on Education, served as the pattern followed by succeeding colonial administrations.[86] Arguably, had Itō chosen to bolster the existing indigenous education system and in the process recognize the cultural distinctiveness of Koreans, the policies enacted by succeeding administration might have differed.

Budan Seiji, 1910-1919

The colonial administrations of Generals Terauchi Masatake, 1910-1916, and Hasegawa Yoshimichi, 1916-1919, together form the period known as budan seiji, or military dictatorship.[87] The period was characterized by an infusion of martial elements throughout the colonial administration. Manifestations of the martial element in the schools are seen in the increased level of corporal punishment practiced by public school officials and the practice of arming teachers with swords.[88]

Generally, the overall education aims of the budan seiji and the Residency-General were very similar--

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86 Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 369-390.

87 Brudnoy, "Japan's Experiment in Korea", 165.

88 Brudnoy, "Japan's Experiment in Korea", 168.

assimilation through de-nationalization.[89] The administrations of the budan seiji planned to accomplish de-nationalization through control of the public school structure and its curriculum and increased control over private schools.[90]

Terauchi increased control over the public schools through the promulgation of the Chōsen (Korean) Educational Ordinance of 1911. The teeth of the ordinance lay in the fact that it abolished the Korean Educational Ministry and established the Bureau of Education.[91] Through the bureau, now under the direct control of Terauchi, control over the educational infrastructure, textbooks, and curriculum was extended.[92]

Structurally, Terauchi effected several changes in the education system, although higher education remained a neglected area under budan seiji as it had under Itō. He felt very strongly, as he stated at the Meeting of Principals of Common Schools in 1911:

> [That] the aim of a common school is not to prepare Korean pupils for higher education, but to turn out good and loyal citizens, who will be

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89 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 119-136; 174-192.

90 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 119-136; 174-192.

91 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 177.

92 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 176-182.

> useful to the society and able to engage in practical business. The pupil must be faithful, honest, diligent, and a hard worker.[93]

This speech indicates both Terauchi's inclination toward emphasizing practical learning and de-emphasizing the need for higher education.

Article XI of the Education Ordinance abolished the Seoul Teachers' School, founded in 1895 and refurbished by Itō. According to Terauchi's thinking, the colonial administration would provide all the education needed by Korean pupils, and as a result, "Korea did not need its own teachers."[94] This abolished one of the few remaining educational opportunities for Koreans past elementary education, with the exception of technical and language school.[95] Conversely, Terauchi's emphasis on practical learning led to an increase in the number of provincial vocational schools. Vocational schools increased from fifteen to thirty-one between 1910-1920.[96]

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[93] Bureau of Education, Manual of Education in Chōsen (Keijō: Governor-General, 1913), Appendix I, 32.; as quoted in Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 178.

[94] Governor-General of Chōsen, Instructions, Regulations, and Remarks Concerning Schools (Keijō: Chosen Sōtokufu, 1915) 1-2;2; as quoted in Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 181.

[95] Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 177-181.

[96] Governor-General of Chōsen. Tōkei Nenpō (Annual Statistical Compilation) 1910-1942; cited in Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 403.

The general education curriculum remained relatively the same between the protectorate and budan seiji periods. The core curriculum of arithmetic, composition, spelling, gymnastics, and singing remained intact.[97] Interestingly, even during the budan seiji period, instruction in the Korean language continued, albeit to a lesser degree than Japanese language instruction.[98] This was undoubtedly due to the fear of sparking off a large scale response from the Korean nationalist element, particularly the remnants of the Education Independence Movement.[99] Korean history, however, was abolished as part of an overall policy of removing all Korean history related books and magazines from schools and libraries in an attempt to further de-nationalize the Korean population.[100]

Terauchi made other contributions as well, particularly in the increased amount of Japanese language instruction offered and the introduction of shūshin, or morals instruction. Together, these two subjects comprised more than half the curriculum hours.[101] The introduction of shūshin was a reflection of Terauchi's belief that "The essential principle of education in Korea shall be the

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97 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 181.

98 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 181.

99 Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 414-415.

100 Brudnoy, "Japan's Experiment in Korea", 168.

101 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 181.

making of good and loyal Japanese subjects through instruction based on the Imperial Rescript on Education."[102] Although Itō's policies were based on similar principles, Terauchi's seems to have been the first enunciation of it.

A large portion of the Korean population viewed with skepticism the increased Japanese language instruction, the introduction of martial elements, and the abolition of such subjects as Korean history. They saw it as an attempt by the Japanese to obliterate the Korean culture.[103] The result was a significant increase in the number of Korean private schools and expanded enrollment at them.[104]

The trend first began during the protectorate period. By 1910, when Terauchi assumed the responsibilities of Governor-General, there was a total of 2,225 private schools; 1,402 were private miscellaneous schools and 823 were mission schools.[105] These institutions were divided into three classes: institutions which were accredited by the colonial government, those which were not, and suhtang, or the village schools.[106] Western mission schools fell

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[102] Bureau of Education, Manual of Education in Chōsen (Keijō: Governor-General, 1912), Appendix, 1; as quoted in Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 176-177.

[103] Brudnoy, "Japan's Experiment in Korea", 169.

[104] Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 392.

[105] Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 183.

[106] Dong. "Japanese Colonial Policy", 413.

into the first category and the majority of private Korean institutions fell into the second. The difference between accredited and non-accredited institutions was that they supposedly were free from government interference. In actuality, Terauchi followed a policy of non-interference with both accredited and unaccredited institutions because his aim was to avoid the possibility of provoking international or domestic instability. Closure of accredited schools, the bulk of which were comprised of Methodist and Presbyterian missions, ran the risk of a larger confrontation with a Western power.[107] Similarly, closure of the unaccredited institutions might lead to raising the ire of domestic nationalist groups. As a consequence, Terauchi followed a non-interference policy through 1911.[108]

By 1911, however, the system of private institutions posed a formidable source of competition to the colonial administration's school system. To stem the flow of students into private institutions, Terauchi promulgated the Regulation for Private Schools in October 1911. The aim was to provide a measure of close supervision of private schools.[109] The success of Terauchi's policies can be seen

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[107] Lee, "The Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education', 37-42.

[108] Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 414-415.

[109] Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 174-187.

by the decrease in the number of private schools vis a' vis the growth in public schools. (See Appendix A, Table) The specific instruments by which Terauchi tried to control these schools and limit their numbers were:

> Article X. The teachers of all private schools must have sufficient Japanese to teach the curriculum subjects in the Japanese language.
>
> Article XVI. Directors of all private schools are required to make reports to the Governor-General of Korea concerning the names of faculty, curriculum, numbers of pupils registered...
>
> Article VI. No private schools are permitted to add any subject of study other than those set forth in the regulation.[110]

His policies, however, were not as successful in stemming the growth of suhtang, or village schools.[111] The suhtang were a survival of conventional educational practice whereby male youth in villages were educated in the Chinese classics.[112] In pre-annexed Korea, they were the major vehicle of popular primary education.[113] The suhtang

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110 Governor-General Ordinance 24 (March 24, 1915); Regulations for Private Schools; as quoted in Long, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 415.

111 Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 421.

112 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 421.

113 Dong. "Japanese Colonial Policy', 421.

functioned very much as terakoya did in Japanese villages.[114] The growth these popular schools enjoyed during the period was a reaction to Terauchi's policies on private institutions.

Because it appears Korean parents wanted to send their children to local Korean schools, suhtang enjoyed substantial growth. Suhtang numbers increased from 16,450 in 1912 to 23,556 in 1919. This translated into a total enrollment of 141,604 and 268,607, respectively.[115] Comparatively, enrollment figures in the public schools were 10,994 and 84,306 for the same time periods.[116] Thus, even with the close supervision and decline in private institutions, a viable alternative to public education continued to exist. This was important, not so much for the educational gains offered through the suhtang, but for the effects of cultural continuity they provided. Although the Koreans found colonial occupation oppressive, the schools provided an avenue through which a source of traditional

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[114] Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 182. Terakoya were village schools used to educate villagers at a rudimentary level which grew in popularity during the Tokugawa period. Instruction was usually conducted in the village Buddhist temple. The terakoya existed without the official sanction of the Tokugawa regime, yet they were never prohibited from operating which contributed significantly to their growth. It is estimated that approximately 20,000 were operating by early in the Meiji period.

[115] Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 182-183.

[116] Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy, 392.

culture continued to exist. Consequently, the schools served as a major point of failure in the assimilation policy of the Japanese.

Effects of Education Policy Through 1919

The education policy the Japanese enacted in Korea had two significant effects. It perpetuated Korean efforts to modernize education along the Western model begun by the Korean court in 1895.[117] It also contributed to growth in nationalist sentiment which resulted in an education independence movement and the larger Sam Il or March 1st Movement in 1919.[118]

By the time the Japanese established a protectorate in Korea in 1905, the Korean court had made efforts to establish a Western-oriented public school system. The aim of the new system was to provide mass education at the primary level.[119] Modernization efforts were slow at best, and as a result, only fifty public schools had been created

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[117] Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education", 64.

[118] Seung Kyun Ko, "The March First Movement: A Study of the Rise of Korean Nationalism under Japanese Colonialism", Koreana Quarterly 1-2 (1972): 14-31.

[119] Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education", 69.

by the Korean court through 1905.[120] The schools were divided into a system of primary and middle schools. Their curriculums, patterned after the American curriculum, consisted primarily of history, arithmetic, and geography at the primary level. The instruction also included the study of Chinese classics.[121] At the middle school level, physics, chemistry, biology, geography, algebra, and geometry were added.[122]

Japanese efforts actually sped the development of a Korean educational infrastructure. The combined efforts of the colonial administration through 1919 were responsible for the growth in the numbers of public schools, from 50 in 1905 to 482 by 1919.[123]

The Japanese also established a system of vocational schools geared to Korea's major industries like forestry, agriculture, and fishing.[124] Thus, the system established during the first fifteen years of colonial occupation actually redoubled the efforts of modernizing education begun by the Korean court in 1895.

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120 H.B. Hulbert, The Passing of Korea (New York: Doubleday Page Corp., 1906), 338.

121 Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education", 69-70.

122 Hulbert, The Passing of Korea, 338.

123 Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education", 64.

124 Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 402.

The second major effect of the occupation education policy was the development of the Korean National Education for Independence Movement, which reached its zenith during the protectorate years, 1905-1909.[125] The style and participants of this movement should be contrasted with the overall nationalist movement, Sam Il. The education movement was a non-violent response of the Korean literati to the Japanese attempt to obliterate the Korean culture.[126] The Sam Il movement was a more violent response of the general public to the Japanese presence in Korea.[127] The origins of Sam Il differed as well. The Korean nationalists formed the Sam Il movement around two major events. First was the Wilsonian proclamation articulated at the Paris Peace Conference. This basically called for the right of self-determination of all governments, large or small.[128] The second incident was the mysterious death surrounding the former monarch, Kwangmoo. Although it appeared the king died of apoplexy, rumor had it that the Japanese had a hand in it. The veracity of the rumor was not questioned because of the earlier Japanese involvement in the death of Queen Min.[129]

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125 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 137-173.

126 Hung, "Japan's Colonial Educational Policy", 137-173.

127 Seung Kyun Ko, "March First Movement", 22-28.

128 Seung Kyun Ko, "March First Movement", 22-23.

129 Seung Kyun Ko, "The March First Movement", 25.

This ultimately led to the Sam Il Independence Movement in downtown Seoul on 1 March 1919.

The aim of the Education Movement was to safeguard Korean independence.[130] The movement's leadership was comprised of groups of intellectuals such as the shilhak (practical study) nationalist group.[131] The literati believed that only an independent Korea, educating its own young, would provide the cultural continuity of the Korean people.[132] The major thrust of the movement was three-fold: to avoid the cultural annihilation inherent in Japan's colonial policy of assimilation, to become independent again, and to accomplish that goal without relying on Chinese or Japanese influence.[133]

The shilhak literati sought to develop a Korean mass education system predicated on building a sense of national consciousness. Park Un-sik, one of the leaders of the shilhak, summed up the group's orientation:
The most urgent task of Korea today is to educate the mass of people who are sound asleep; we must awaken them through the expansion of educational enlightenment.[134]

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130 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 137.

131 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 152.

132 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 137.

133 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 151.

134 So Gi-gaku (trans.) Chōsen Kyoiku Shi (History of Korean education) (Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 1963) 104-106; as quoted in Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 155.

Park's efforts were carried out in conjunction with the efforts of other scholars like Chu Si-kyong, who sought to raise the national consciousness with respect to the Korean vernacular; his efforts led to what would ultimately become the standard for contemporary Korean grammar.[135] This effort to promote the vernacular meshed with that of the shilhak's call for mass education and resulted in a move toward simplification of the Korean language in an attempt to educate the masses and infuse a sense of national pride.[136] Chu Si-kyong also called for both males and females to learn the Korean language and to replace Chinese characters with the Korean characters.[137]

Many of the shilhak's activities during the period centered on the creation of organizations to attract followers and build funds to establish new private schooling.[138] For example, in 1906 local leaders formed the Hansung Bu Min-hoe (Seoul People's Civic Association) which called for expanding schools and forming a self-independence movement.[139] Similarly, the Tea Tong Hak-hoe (The Great Eastern Academic Society) was organized in Seoul

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135 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 155.

136 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational policy", 155-156.

137 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 155-156.

138 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 152-164.

139 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 162.

in 1908,[140] and espoused a policy of expanded youth education. The fruits of the efforts of organizations like these can be seen in the large numbers of private schools, both suhtang and other private institutions, that emerged by the end of the protectorate period.[141]

The overall effectiveness of the literati and the missionaries was so great, that the number of private schools grew to 2225 by 1909, which is what ultimately led to Terauchi's promulgation of legislation to curb the activities of private schools.[142]

Bunka Seiji, 1919-1931

In comparison to the policies of the budan seiji period, the more appeasing policies promulgated by Saitō Makoto earned his administration the name, bunka seiji, or enlightened rule.[143] In actuality, Saitō's policies were only superficially conciliatory; his overall policy objectives of assimilation through de-nationalization remained the same as those of the preceding administration.[144] What distinguishes the period as having

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140 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 162.

141 Dong, "Japan's Colonial Policy", 421.

142 Dong, "Japan's Colonial Policy", 183.

143 Brudnoy, "Japan's Experiment in Korea", 173.

144 Dong, "Japan's Colonial Policy", 251-252.

been conciliatory is more a matter of how the assimilation policy was implemented.[145]

Evidence of Saitō's more outwardly conciliatory approach can be gleaned from a statement made to an American magazine during his first term in office.

> It cannot be denied that, in the hands of petty officials, their policies were often carried out in a tactless manner, and that the policies themselves, though suiting the conditions of the Korean people for some time after annexation, needed more or less revision so as to keep pace with the progress of the times and the intellectual and economic advancement made by the Korean people. As a matter of fact, the Government was contemplating the introduction of reforms in its policies, but unfortunately this was not made known promptly enough and in time to prevent the outbreak of demonstrations.[146]

The demonstrations to which Saitō refers are those associated with the Sam Il Movement. The fact that the Japanese authorities released Saitō's speech to an American magazine should be seen as a further attempt by the Japanese to appease the rising tide of international sentiment against Japan.

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[145] Saitō Makoto, "Home Rule in Korea?," The Independent 31 January 1920: 167-169; 191.

[146] Saitō, "Home Rule in Korea?", 167-168.

Educational Reform Under Bunka Seiji

From the beginning of his administration, Saitō incorporated two policy themes--a veiled show of appeasement and a more comprehensive approach to educational reform. More than any of his predecessors, he developed a balanced and comprehensive plan for expanding the educational infrastructure of Korea.[147] Saitō saw continuous reform as essential to striking a balance between the colonial government and the needs of Korea.

The impetus for reform was contained in Saitō's February 1922 amendment of the 1911 Korean Education Ordinance. The amendment was the product of extensive research to study the Korean's negative reactions to the 1911 Ordinance. The entire survey took twenty-nine months, at the end of which he enacted the amendment.[148] In a summary of the ordinance, he stated:

> The time, however, has never ceased to change and will not allow institutions to stand still for any long time. They imperatively demand reform after reform to conform to their requirements, and no institution will be able to meet the requirements of the times without timely adjustment.[149]

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147 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 193-210.

148 Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 377.

149 Governor-General's Instruction on the Promulgation of the revised Educational Ordinance for Korea, February 6, 1922. See Annual Report, 1921-1922, 258; as quoted in Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy" , 378.

He hoped the new system would attract larger numbers of Korean students and speed the overall pace of de-nationalization and ultimately assimilation.

Saitō's adjustments were geared more toward reforming infrastructure as opposed to offering any substantive changes in the curriculum, although he did re-introduce Korean history and geography. They were taught as part of the overall history of Japan. Japanese language instruction and shūshin still comprised almost half the curriculum hours; fourteen out of thirty-two hours per week.[150] The curriculum gives an indication the colonial administration was still carrying out a policy of assimilation.

Saitō discarded the 4-4 school system and replaced it with a 6-5 system similar to that used in Japan.[151] He also undertook the task of significantly expanding the elementary infrastructure. By 1926, for example, Saitō had increased the number of lower elementary schools from 595 to 1336.[152] The higher elementary educational infrastructure, too, increased and by 1929 there were twenty-four schools as compared to seven in 1919.[153]

In a related policy change, Saitō abolished the system of government provincial "high schools" and replaced them

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150 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 197.

151 Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 378.

152 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 198.

153 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 198.

with normal schools, one in each of the nine provinces. These normal schools served as teacher-training centers, designed to train Korean elementary school teachers to teach in the large number of elementary schools Saitō's education program had initiated.[154]

The overall goal of the system was to provide basic education through the first six years of school.[155] Beyond that point, the goal was still to identify the best students and provide them with further educational opportunities. That this was still a paramount function of the system is borne out by the numbers of students in higher and lower elementary school. By 1926, for example, there were a total of 438,990 students enrolled in lower elementary school.[156] Assuming an equal distribution of students at each of the six grade levels of elementary schools, that would amount to over 73,000 at each level. By 1929-30, there were only a total of 10,248 students in higher elementary school. Thus, approximately one out of every seven lower elementary school children continued on to higher elementary.

Attendance at the normal schools (teacher training centers) was predicated on the completion of higher

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154 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 199.

155 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 193-210.

156 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 198.

elementary education.[157] Although I was unable to locate specific figures on teachers' school enrollment, considering the increased level of competition at the higher education levels, it is not unreasonable to assume that similar numbers prevailed regarding their enrollment.

Although Saitō was prepared to use Korean school teachers, the responsibility of the school teacher to conduct a de-nationalization of Korean youth did not change. This becomes evident by reviewing a sample of the regulations for students training to become teachers at the normal school.

> 1) ...you shall devote yourself to the teaching profession in such a way as to strengthen the foundations of the state and assist in the Imperial policy...
>
> 2) The student in the Normal school shall...be trained to become a pioneer of the way of the empire and be fostered in a spirit of devotion and loyalty to the Emperor.[158]

Another major change brought about by Saitō's amendment was the establishment of Keijō (Seoul) Imperial University, founded in 1926.[159] Saitō approved plans for its construction as part of the 1922 amendment. The impetus for

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157 Genkō Hōrei Shūran [Collected Catalog of Acting Laws] (Tokyo: Secretary of the Japanese Cabinet Press, 1930), 123-124; as quoted in Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 200.

158 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 199.

159 Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 410-411.

constructing the university, however, actually came from the demands of the Korean population for education independence.[160] Saitō hoped to avoid a similar outbreak of frustration as occurred during the Sam Il.

The demand for the university took the form of a "People's University" movement and was initiated by one of the nationalist education groups. The plan, a fund-raising scheme, called for collecting one won, from each Korean citizen, for a total of 30 million won.[161] (The won is a denomination in the Korean monetary system.) Saitō, probably sensing that this campaign could come to serve as a unifying factor much as Sam Il had, chose to avert it and establish the Keijō Imperial University.

The overall purpose of the university, however, was consonant with the larger system of education--to develop loyal subjects. During the university's opening ceremonies in 1926, the president of the university, Hattori Unokichi,

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[160] Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education", 117-120.

[161] Lee, "Social and Political Factors Effecting Korean Education", 118-119. Use of the word won in this case is somewhat misleading. By the time the protectorate was established, use of the won had all but been discontinued and was no longer officially recognized. The conspicuous absence of the won in any of the statistical abstracts on world currencies compiled by the League of Nations bears that out. Additionally, the Korean government, in 1905, relinquished its responsibility with regard to currency to the Dai Ichi Bank. The Dai Ichi Bank took Korean coins out of circulation and replaced them with specially minted "colonial" coins. Dong, "Japan's Colonial Policy, 117-119.

made the school's position clear when he admonished the students "to be loyal students first of all."[162]

Enrollment figures and the faculty composition also go far in substantiating this view of the university's goals. Although the colonial administration permitted the Korean students to enter the university, total figures indicate that the ratio of Japanese to Korean students was approximately 3:1 by 1926.[163] These figures remained relatively unchanged until about 1945.[164] Faculty composition was even more one-sided; no Korean instructors were ever permitted on the faculty.[165] Hence, though the university's creation was designed to appease the Korean demand for further educational reforms, in practice it became highly restrictive, benefitting the Japanese disproportionately.[166]

The effect of Saitō's policies on private institutions deserves some mention. He did little to change their decreasing numbers; to do so would not have been in keeping with his overall goal of speeding de-nationalization. His

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[162] Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education", 120.

[163] Dong, "Japan's Colonial Policy", 407.

[164] Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 204.

[165] Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education", 120.

[166] Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education", 120.

few conciliatory efforts amounted to another cosmetic to convince Western onlookers of the reformation of Japanese colonial practice. Saitō eased the requirement of a Japanese language proficiency for private school instructors and reinstated the right to teach religion in schools.[167]

Yamanashi, who succeeded Saitō in 1927, did little to effect any changes in the colonial education system.[168] When Saitō was reinstated in 1929, he continued his earlier policies of superficial appeasement. Because in reality, no substantive change attended his policies, i.e., assimilation and cultural obliteration were still the cornerstone of his policies, the results ultimately achieved by his administration were similar to those of earlier administrations.[169] Nationalist opposition manifested itself frequently in the form of student boycotts.[170] School strikes became more prevalent throughout the decade of the 1920s and reached a high of eighty-three strikes in 1928.[171] It was the atmosphere set by the widespread number of these strikes which led to the second most popularly supported independence movement of the decade, the Kwang-ju student uprising of November 1929. It came about

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167 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 197.

168 Dong, "Japan's Colonial Policy", 381.

169 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 204-210.

170 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 205.

171 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 205.

as a result of an argument between two students, one Japanese and the other Korean. The verbal altercation degenerated into a physical brawl, which very quickly escalated into a confrontation between Japanese and Korean students. The Japanese students were verbally reprimanded for their part in the altercation, the Korean students were detained in jail and permanently expelled from school.[172] As a result of the inequity in punishment, Korean students in Kwang-ju staged a boycott and demonstration. The fervor associated with the demonstration quickly spread to Seoul, Taegu, Pusan, and Inchon and assumed a nationalistic flavor reminiscent of the March 1st Movement.[173] At its peak, total student participation reached 54,000 and involved students from 194 schools.[174] This represented the last large scale organized uprising for independence through 1931, the end of bunka seiji.[175]

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[172] Bong-youn Choy, Korea: A History (Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, Co., 1971), 185-186.

[173] Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 207.

[174] David Brudnoy, "Japan's Experiment in Korea," Monumenta Nipponica 25 (1970): 177; Bong-youn, Korea: A History, 185-186.

[175] Bong-youn, Korea: A History, 185-186.

Summary: Assessment of Assimilation

Having treated the origins of Japan's assimilation policy and the effect it had on the colonial education system in Korea, it is logical to ask whether the Japanese and their Korean colony would have been better served by employing another colonial system.

There were, of course, both positive and negative aspects to the Japanese assimilation policy. On the positive side, the Japanese helped develop an infrastructure for Korea; railways, roads, enhanced agricultural, fishing and mining techniques. Along with this, they built a stronger educational infrastructure in remarkably little time. Compare, for instance, the first ten-year period in which the Korean court and the colonial administration enacted policies for modernizing education. Between 1895-1905, the Korean court was successful in constructing only fifty schools.[176] They were established on the principal of education for all, a major departure from earlier Court education policy which sought to educate only the children of nobility.[177]

The Japanese, on the other hand, constructed 482 schools during the ten-year period after annexation, the

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[176] Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education", 64.

[177] Lee, "Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education", 69.

cost of which was borne by the colonial government.[178] It wasn't until July 1920, through the promulgation of the Governor-General's decree, that the Koreans were made to bear the cost of expanding the education infrastructure.[179] The Japanese also came closer to achieving the original goal of mass education; the first level of elementary school education was open to all children. Subsequently, even if children did not progress to the next level of elementary school, the Japanese system provided other options for them in the form of vocational schools. Notwithstanding the other problems of Japan's assimilation policy, its effect was positive in terms of expanding educational opportunity at the primary level.

The primary negative aspect of assimilation for Koreans was the threat of the loss of cultural identity. There is ample evidence that the Japanese saw assimilation as a total process through which Korean cultural distinctiveness would be obliterated. The obvious result, particularly for a nation which had enjoyed centuries of independence, was that large segments of the population became unified in efforts to expel the Japanese so as to maintain cultural and political independence and distinctiveness.[180]

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178 Dong, "Japan's Colonial Policy", 392.

179 Dong, "Japan's Colonial Policy", 378-379.

180 Hung, "Japanese Colonial Educational Policy", 137-173.

For the Japanese, the major criticism of assimilation was that it represented an unworkable policy. Through 1931, it engendered hostile feelings in Koreans. The Sam Il Movement, National Education Movement, and the Kwang-ju Student uprisings attest to that. Equally indicative of the nationalism that pervaded the culture is the example offered by the natural and phenomenal growth of suhtang during the period. They represented a formidable resistance to Japanese use of education as a tool of de-nationalization and remained bastions of traditional learning. Their numbers, having reached a total of over 25,000 by 1919, serve as proof of their role in occupied Korea.[181]

Given the negative feelings engendered by Japanese presence and policy, it appears the Japanese might have been better served by using a different colonial system. I will briefly consider each of the other three policy options--subjection, autonomy and association, mentioned earlier.

The policy of subjection, which called for the complete replacement of indigenous cultural and political structures with Japanese systems, was a major part of Japan's assimilation policy. It differs enough, however, that it must be considered separately. Subjection can occur apart from assimilation; a country need not be amalgamated to be subjugated.

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[181] Dong, "Japan's Colonial Policy", 421.

Autonomy was a system under which the indigenous culture was permitted to exist without interference from the colonial power. Autonomy would not, however, have served the perceived needs of either country. Japan was at a stage in its development where territorial expansion was considered a strategic necessity, hence its expansion into Northeast Asia and onto Pacific Islands.[182] In Korea, this took on added dimensions. The Japanese were also convinced that the Koreans were in a state of cultural and educational destitution and only their superior culture could save them. This, considered along with the heightened Japanese nationalist fervor and the belief harbored by some that Japan possessed an historical right to Korea, rendered almost impossible consideration of a policy based on autonomy.

Nor was autonomy the best form of government for the Koreans if one considers the advances made in education, infrastructural development, and the growth in industrial, agricultural, and fishing capabilities under the Japanese. There was a high probability that the slow rate of development under the Korean Court system would have continued at the same pace without some outside impetus. This view of course, is contingent upon one's values. Some

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[182] Mark R. Peattie, Nan'yo: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1985-1945 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), 1-13.

would hold that being poor and autonomous is better than industrial development under the yoke of colonialism.

Similarly, the Japanese were ill-suited to carry out a strict policy of association, which was characterized by its "live and let live" philosophy. Their perceptions regarding the poor state of affairs in Korea and their concern over outside intervention would not have permitted this type of approach.

Given the inclinations of both countries at the time, I believe Japan and Korea would have been best served by the application of a modified policy of association, much as the British used in Burma. This would have provided enough structure for the Japanese to control key areas of Korean society yet provide the Koreans with an illusion of cultural security.

A modified version of association would have provided a colonial system where the power divides its goals into economic, political, and cultural categories. In a system such as this, the foreign power would direct and oversee the activities of the colony's economic concerns while following, as much as practicable, a policy of laissez-faire in political and cultural areas. Implicit in this approach is that the colonial power work through indigenous cultural and political structures, which are left intact.

Thus, in the case of Korea, Japanese colonial authorities would have concentrated on developing an

economic structure to support its overall economic goals, whether they be simply to sustain the operation of Korea or to contribute resource wealth to the home islands. There would be, however, as little interference as possible in the political process. Only to the extent that it furthered the overall economic goals would that have occurred.

Similarly, as many culturally indigenous concerns as possible would remain untouched, and as far as practicable, even nurtured. Hence, the practice of recognizing Korean history, customs, and education could have been used as major selling point in garnering Korean support of a Japanese colonial administration. Little was gained by attempting cultural obliteration; in fact it undermined Japan's position. Wiser would have been the course which permitted the indigenous culture to continue or develop further, as long as the overall economic ends were achieved. Following a course like this, would also have had the advantage of providing a range of responses the Japanese could have gradually employed in the eventuality that cultural development somehow impeded economic development. Tying the right to maintain cultural practices to Japan's economic gain in Korea might have reduced the pitch of nationalist fervor.

PART III

GREAT BRITAIN IN BURMA

Overview of Ethnic Composition

Unlike the Japanese and Koreans, the ethnic and cultural composition of the Burmese is diverse and sometimes confusing. Therefore, I will briefly describe the major ethic groups.

The major groups comprising the Burmese are the Burmans, Shans, Kachins, Karens, and Chins.[183] Other minority groups exist but are few in number, therefore, I will concentrate only on the largest of them. The Burmans, by far the dominant ethic group, are comprised of three historically distinct groups--Burmans, Mons, and Arakanese. According to the 1911 census, together they numbered nearly 8 million or approximately two-thirds of the total population. [184] Prior to the eighteenth-century, the Mon, located in the Pegu region, and the Arakanese, located to the west of Burma, were independent nations. (See Appendix

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[183] Burman is an ethnic term used to designate the people who came to dominate Burma and represent the majority ethnic grouping. Burmese is a term used to refer to all ethnic groups, Burmans and other ethnic minorities, living within the borders of Burma. Norma Bixler, Burma: A Profile New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), xii.

[184] 1911 Census of India: cited in Herbert Thirkell White, Burma (London: Cambridge University Press, 1923), 130.

H) With the Burman defeat of Pegu and Arakan in the seventeenth-century, they began absorbing the culturally distinct Mon and Arakanese.[185] The active interaction between the groups which followed eradicated most of their differences and all came to be generally referred to as Burmans.

In 1911 the Karens had the largest minority group, a population of 1,100,000. These are comprised of Karens and other related tribes which occupied the plains of Tenasserim and Irrawaddy Delta.[186] The second largest minority group, the Shans, had a population of approximately 1,000,000 according to the 1911 census. The Shans occupied the Shan plateau in the eastern region of Burma.[187] The Chins, numbering approximately 300,000, occupied the western hill territory of the Chindwin river bordering Assam, Manipur, and Bengal.[188] The Kachins, of whom there were approximately 170,000, occupied the upper Irrawaddy valley and northern hill territory.[189]

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185 Bixler, Burma, 130-132.

186 White, Burma, 131-132.

187 White, Burma, 133.

188 White, Burma, 134.

189 White, Burma, 134-135.

Background

The geographic divisions which constituted nineteenth-century Burma prior to British annexation were gained through incursion into neighboring territories during the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. The Burmese defeated Arakan, Pegu and Tenasserim during the eighteenth-century, while Assam and Manipur were conquered during the early nineteenth-century.[190] Thus, Burma was a dominate imperial power among Southeast Asian countries.

Burma failed to conquer two major nearby territories, Siam (Thailand) and the Shan States, of which there were forty.[191] Thailand remained a sovereign nation while the Shan territories assumed a tributary role to Burma. The Burmese controlled Shan foreign and inter-state relations through the appointment of Burmese political officers; domestic affairs were left much to the individual Shan states.[192]

During the nineteenth-century, Burmese infringement on British colonial territories and perceived diplomatic affronts led to a series of three Anglo-Burmese Wars, each

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[190] J.S. Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and the Netherlands India (New York: New York University Press, 1956), 23.

[191] Clarence Hendershot, "The Conquest, Pacification, and Administration of the Shan States by the British, 1886-1897," diss., University of Chicago, 1936, 1.

[192] Hendershot, "Conquest of the Shan States", 2-3.

of which the British won and after which they successively annexed more Burmese territory. The wars were fought in 1824-1826, 1853, and 1885, respectively. It was British annexation of Burmese territory after the first two wars which ultimately led to Burma's division into Upper Burma and British, or Lower Burma. Upper Burma consisted of territory belonging to Burma proper while Lower Burma comprised territories previously conquered by the Burmese. British victory after the hostilities in 1885 led to the final annexation of Upper Burma.[193] After 1886 the whole of Burma was administered as a British colony through the Governor-Generalship of India; it became a province of India.

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY IN BURMA

Overview

Until the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, British colonialism was based on two complementary principles. The first was a policy of conciliation which represented the Governor-General's policy toward unannexed Burmese territory. The second principle was one of modified association which the British exercised in annexed Burmese territory. Modified association was the system under which

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[193] D.G.E. Hall, Europe and Burma (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), 108-182.

the British established their own colonial administration in Burma, i.e., justice, education, etc., yet permitted the indigenous system to co-exist with it or incorporated elements of it into the British system. A true system of association would have required that indigenous systems and the population they served be left intact without any interference. Modified association was the practice followed in Tenasserim, Arakan, Assam, Manipur, and Cachar after their annexation in 1824. The British government received them as a concession under the treaty of Yandabo which ended the first Anglo-Burmese war. Similarly, modified association was practiced in Pegu after its annexation in 1852 as a result of the second Anglo-Burmese war.

I consider these two policies jointly because the British use of them is closely connected. Conciliation was both a policy and the basic premise upon which modified association was based. The "live and let live" philosophy to which the British adhered, at least tacitly, recognized and approved the right of indigenous systems of administration and education systems to exist--a form of conciliation. I will consider both principles, examining conciliation as a stand-alone policy and the effect of modified association policy on education.

Conciliation

In my estimation, conciliation hinged on the philosophies of avoidance and reaction. Avoidance centered on two areas. First, it sought to avoid additional military entanglements in Southeast Asia. Pursuit of this policy caused British authorities to turn a blind eye when the Burmese perpetrated territorial incursions and diplomatic and physical affronts. The London Times, in its 17 July 1824 issue, reported:

> During many years past, Burmese officials governing the country contiguous to our Southeast frontier have from time to time been guilty of acts of encroachment and aggression which the British government would have been fully justified in repelling by force. Solicitous, however, to preserve with all nations the relations of peace, the British government has considered it to be in an especial manner its duty to make large allowances for the peculiar circumstances and character of the Burmese government and people.[194]

The "large allowances" made by authorities to which the article refers is the conciliation policy. The British were prepared, from their perspective, to endure countless affronts to avoid confrontation with the Burmese in the region.

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[194] "The War in India," London Times 17 July 1824: 2.

The second arm of the avoidance philosophy sought to forego, as much as practicable, additional territorial acquisitions in the region. The British colonies in Southeast Asia were administered jointly by the British government and the East India Company until 1858.[195] The Company's practice was to operate colonies much like businesses--they should pay for their own operations.[196] At the time, India was costing more money to operate than it was generating in trade. As a result, Lord Amherst, the Governor-General of India, was directed by the Directors of the East India Company "At all times to keep in mind the expressed command of the Court of Directors [East India Company] to avoid additions to the Indian Empire."[197]

Evidence of this policy was the piecemeal annexation practiced by the British after each of the Anglo-Burmese wars; annexation was limited to territory which satisfied immediate strategic requirements.[198]

The British demonstrated the reactive element of the conciliation policy by their tendency to take no action against Burmese "transgressions" for relatively long periods

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195 "East India Company (British)," Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th edition, 1987.

196 W.F.B. Laurie, Our Burmese Wars (London: W.J. Allen & Co., 1880), 76-80.

197 Laurence Kitzan, Lord Amherst and Pegu: The Annexation Issue, 1824-1826," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 9 (1977): 180.

198 Kitzan, "Lord Amherst and Pegu," 180-181.

of time. Once a saturation point was reached, they employed force. This pattern of British reaction is evident throughout nineteenth-century Anglo-Burmese relations.[199]

Success of the Conciliatory Policy

One must measure the success of this policy in terms of the extent to which its aims were achieved, i.e. British success in avoiding further colonial entanglements.

Considering the causes of each of the Anglo-Burmese wars leads one to the conclusion that this policy was not successful. In fact, adherence to it after the first Anglo-Burmese war may well have encouraged the two subsequent wars.[200] From the standpoint of British authorities, the lack of success of Great Britain's conciliation policy is evidenced by examining the ten-year periods preceding each of the wars. They perceived the periods to have been punctuated by increased incidents of Burmese disregard for British territorial sovereignty, Burmese transgressions against British subjects, and, after the first war, disregard for treaty obligations. Colonel W.F.B. Laurie, a British military historian, wrote in 1880:

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199 Hall, Europe and Burma, 108-182.

200 Hall, Europe and Burma, 108-182.

> Events ... speedily showed that the practice or conciliatory disposition evinced by the East India Company only tended to increase the insolence and rapacity of the Burmese. In 1823, various acts of aggression were systematically committed. Several of our Mugh subjects were attacked and killed on board their own boats...; and a party of the Company's elephant hunters were taken from within British boundaries and carried prisoners to Arakan.[201]

Similarly, the London Times reported in 1885:

> Liberal and Conservative Ministers and Viceroys have followed an identical policy of forbearance, and have shown equal reluctance to interfere in Burma, even for the redress of crying evils. But Burmese arrogance and foreign intrigue at last reached a point which left us no choice but interference or crushing defeat....Thibaw's insolence grew with our forbearance until it became impossible to decline his challenge.[202]

There were additional considerations, of course, from the Burmese perspective, not the least of which was whether or not continued contact with the British was desirable. The British position assumed away the right of the Burmese to decide their own course as a sovereign nation. Nowhere was that more evident than in the British negotiations with Burma during the 1880s, which ultimately led to the third Anglo-Burmese war. Because the British were worried about expanding Franco-Burmese relations and France's increased presence in Burma, the British finally demanded that Burma

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201 Laurie, Our Burmese Wars, 19.

202 "Burmese Papers," London Times 25 January 1886: 9.

receive a British minister and give up its sovereign right to conduct its own foreign affairs.[203] The Burmese, of course, refused and the British dispatched an expeditionary force under the command of Major General Prendergast.[204] The result was the final defeat of Burmese forces and the annexation of Upper Burma. These events do not offer evidence of the "hostile provocation" Laurie spoke of, and the "foreign intrigue" to which the Times referred is better understood as a British desire to maintain a strategic advantage in the area.

With respect to avoiding territorial acquisition in Burma, the British were also unsuccessful; the fact that all Burmese territory came under British administration by 1886 attests to that fact. Yet it is necessary to consider some mitigating factors. Territorial acquisition after each of the first two wars represented necessary strategic moves: annexed territory created a buffer zone between British territory in Bengal and Burma.[205] The major territory annexed after the first war included Assam, Cachar, Manipur, Jaintia, Arakan, and Tenasserim; after the second, the Burmese ceded Pegu.[206] This effectively landlocked what

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203 Hall, Europe and Burma, 177.

204 Hall, Europe and Burma, 179.

205 Hall, Europe and Burma, 117.

206 Laurie, Our Burmese Wars, 56-57.

then became Upper Burma. The final annexation of Burma represented the British perception that their policy of conciliation had failed and that only total annexation would lead to peace in the region.[207]

Strictly considering their goals, the British policy of conciliation was unsuccessful. They were forced into three wars with the Burmese and had to annex unwanted territories. British efforts must also be considered to have been partially successful, however, because they were able to ultimately pacify the entire country.[208]

Motives for Conciliation Policy

There were three explanations for following a policy of conciliation. First was the British failure to recognize the Burmese as a legitimate regional imperial threat. Second was the magnitude of British involvement in colonial wars elsewhere during the nineteenth-century. Third was an increased recognition of social responsibility on the part of the home government in London.

There is no need to dwell on Burmese Southeast Asian imperialistic character. The large amount of surrounding territory they had conquered by the early nineteenth-

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207 "Burmese Paper," London Times 25 January 1886: 9.

208 John F. Cady, A History of Modern Burma (Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), 132-137.

century, e.g., Pegu, Tenasserim, Manipur, Assam, and Arakan is proof of their orientation. The British, however, failed to see the nature and magnitude of the problem primarily because of a certain amount of haughtiness; they were not prepared to consider a Southeast Asian country as a serious imperial competitor.

British reluctance to become entangled in colonial conflicts in Southeast Asia must be viewed along with its other global involvements. For example, the Anglo-Afghan wars were fought during three different periods: 1839-42, 1878-80, and 1919.[209] When these wars are considered along with those in Burma, which were fought in 1824-1826, 1852, and 1885, one gets the sense of continuous war. When the complications with the Boers and the Zulus in Africa and the Crimean War (1853-1856) are considered, the nineteenth-century becomes one of seemingly endless involvement in colonial wars for the British. The extensive entanglement of the British in these areas made the nineteenth-century one of its most active in colonial wars and it is logical to assume that this played a major role in the conciliatory approach the British adopted in Burma. At the very least, it accounts for the British policy of attempting to minimize territorial acquisition in Burma.[210]

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209 "Anglo-Afghan Wars," Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th ed., 1989.

210 Kitzan, "Lord Amherst and Pegu," 180.

Colonial policies reflected the home political climate. The entrenchment of liberalism in the British political scene during the nineteenth-century did much to influence the policies of the Governor-Generalship in India. The liberal British domestic program called for addressing the role of the state in social reforms. Domestic reforms were largely concerned with:

1) Obviating special privileges for special interest groups
2) Remedying social or moral malaise, i.e. prostitution, the lack of educational opportunity, etc.[211]

In education, domestic reforms were objectified in the promulgation of the Education Act of 1870, which ultimately, though indirectly, translated into the impetus for establishing a new education system in Burma. The goal of this bill was to provide more authority to locally elected school boards in Great Britain to add new schools. William Edward Forter, M.P., said of the bill in 1879, "Our object is to complete the present voluntary system, to fill in the gaps." [212] Although never expressly stated as such, this is what, in practice, the system in Burma accomplished.

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[211] Michael Bentley, The Climax of Liberal Politics: British Liberalism in Theory and Practice, 1868-1918, (London: E. Arnold, 1987) 62.

[212] Bentley, The Climax of Liberal Politics, 62.

BRITISH POLICY ON EDUCATION

Traditions in Burmese Education

Prior to contact with the British, education in Burma was accomplished in two settings--Buddhist monasteries and private homes.[213] Males received their education at the monasteries and females, permitted in temples only on special occasions, received their education at home.[214] Although in practice this led to segregated education, education was not sex-differentiated.[215] Males and females learned similar subjects; although they were physically segregated, their content was not.[216] This is an important distinction because it accounts for the ease with which the British were later able to incorporate female education into their colonial education system.

The monastic education system centered on the kyaung, or village school. The kyaung had a dual responsibility in the village as both the school and monastery.[217] Therefore, the kyaung were attended even by boys with no

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213 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 13; 128.

214 Godfrey Eric Harvey, British Rule in Burma, 1824-1942, (London: Faber and Faber, 1945), 46.

215 Harvey, British Rule in Burma, 46.

216 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 128.

217 Harvey, British Rule in Burma, 46.

plans of ever becoming monks. The general aim of monastic education, however, was to develop the skills requisite of future monks. Hence, the secular education young boys received contributed directly to the overall goal of building skills in order to serve as monks.[218]

There was usually one monastic school located in each village, each independent of any central authority.[219] Thus, curriculum content and quality of instruction varied. Buddhist tradition dictated that the instruction begin at age eight and be completed between the ages of thirteen and fifteen.[220] Beyond that, however, there were few strict attendance requirements placed on the students as the instruction was geared toward the agrarian lifestyle of most Burmese. If a student was needed in the fields to harvest rice or other crops, that took precedence.[221]

The kyaung curriculum centered on reading, writing, and memorizing Buddhist texts. Simple arithmetic was also included to help train students to do calculations for the lunar calendar in order to determine the dates of ceremonies.[222] Because the kyaung sought to teach lifestyle and not just technical education, instruction in

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218 Cady, Modern Burma, 59-61.

219 Harvey, British Rule in Burma, 46.

220 Cady, Modern Burma, 59.

221 Harvey, British Rule in Burma, 46.

222 Bixler, Burma, 186.

the "3 Rs" represented a small portion of their instruction. The goal of education was to train young boys in the rigors of monastic life. Their education included more of what might be described as "rites of passage" and socialization activities. Consequently, they spent much of their time waiting on monks-in-training by serving them their meals, drawing their water, and accompanying them on morning alms. (prayer) These, of course, were in addition to their individual requirement for prayer.[223]

The real value of the kyaung was based on two points. First, they provided an opportunity for mass education to the common Burmese male. Second, the schools provided a necessary cultural cohesion and continuity, especially after final annexation in 1886. They represented both the religious and educational backbone of rural Burmese society and consequently lessened the effects of cultural estrangement associated with annexation. Their continued presence in the culture might be part of the reason for only a small number of uprisings against the British after annexation. The importance of the kyaung in Burmese culture is best measured by a review of their growth statistics for the early twentieth-century. In 1912, for example, their

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[223] Cady, Modern Burma, 59.

number had increased to 16,675; by 1925, their numbers reached over 18,000.[224]

If a student completed the basic kyaung instruction, he advanced to ko-yin status, which was a continuation of his basic studies. Training for the ko-yin was also conducted at the kyaung. The curriculum consisted of rigorous study of Buddhist texts, prayer, called Pali study, and daily fasting after the noon meal.[225] It was at this stage that the student renounced all carnal desires and the pursuit of wealth and personal adornment, taking the first steps toward full monastic life.[226]

Higher Pali studies could also be pursued at monastic centers located in urban areas. Education at these centers addressed a wider spectrum of secular topics. In addition to Buddhist studies, the centers offered instruction in court protocol, engineering, construction, and manufacturing operations.[227] These subjects were not without applicability in the life of a monk. Monks played an important role in court life and consequently needed to understand its intricacies.[228] Construction, engineering,

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224 Carleton Ames, "Impacts of British Rule in Burma, 1890-1948," diss., University of Wisconsin, 1950, 231-232.

225 Cady, Modern Burma, 59-61.

226 Cady, Modern Burma, 59.

227 Cady, Modern Burma, 60.

228 Cady, Modern Burma, 60.

and manufacturing all served to sharpen the prospective monk's acumen in erecting pagodas and kyaung, a major responsibility of village monks.

Female education in the home followed a pattern similar to that of kyaung education, except more emphasis was placed on the development of skills needed in the marketplace, i.e., simple arithmetic.[229]

Overview: Britisn Educational Policy in Colonial Burma

Prior to 1854, the British followed a strict policy of laissez-faire with regard to education. The British avoided interfering in the activities of the kyaung, or village schools, as well as making no effort to introduce an education system organized along Western lines.[230] The year 1854, however, represents a major turning point in British colonial education policy in Burma. It marks the first time British authorities sought to extend their influence into the indigenous education system.

This new policy direction originated in a decree issued in 1854 by the Board of Directors of the British East India Company. The aim of the policy was summed up for Parliament in 1903:

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[229] Cady, Modern Burma, 49 or Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 128.

[230] Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 123-131.

"In 1854 it was declared that diffusion of education among the masses was the object of the government's policy so as to convey useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station of life, to the great masses of people.[231]

This set the tone for British education policy in Burma throughout the remainder of British executive rule. (Executive rule ended in 1923 with the promulgation of Burma's constitution.) Historians usually cite the Indian Education Commission's findings of 1882 as a reconfirmation that mass primary education should be the continued focus of British authorities in India.[232] It might, however, be better to consider 1871, the year the system of lay schools was established, as a more concrete reconfirmation since this represents the first successful objectification of the policy.[233]

The second major period of reconfirmation of colonial educational policy occurred with the assignment of Lord Curzon as the Viceroy to India in 1898. He did not institute any major new policy changes, rather, he

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[231] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1903, XLVI (249) Statement of Material Progress of India, 306.

[232] Thomas Babington Macaulay, Minute on Education, 1835, as quoted in: House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1903, 306.

[233] Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 379-380.

reinstituted primary and utilitarian education as the focal point of the education system.[234]

It is appropriate to consider briefly the British policy during the nineteenth-century toward the ethnic minorities in Burma, particularly the Kachin, Karen, Chin, and the Shan. Generally, if these minorities were located in an urban area or an accessible village, they were entitled to the educational benefits of the lay school system established by the British. Those groups who remained in the hills in large numbers, like the Karens, received their education through the efforts of mission schools. The most significant of these efforts were those of American Baptist mission schools established for the Karens. They often organized schools in the hill country for them and eventually established a college for them in Rangoon.[235]

British Educational Policy: 1854-1898

In 1854, British authorities abandoned their strict adherence to a laissez-faire policy toward education. They attempted to fashion a system of western-style primary schools around the existing system of kyaung.[236] In

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234 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 379-380.

235 Hall, Burma, 162.

236 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 123-124.

effect, they attempted to establish a rudimentary system of public education in lower Burma. The impetus was provided by the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood, in his *Despatch on Education* issued in 1854. Generally, this ordinance provided for establishing a system of vernacular education in India by providing elementary, high schools, and a system of universities.[237] The aim of these efforts was to "have a blessed effect by spreading civilization." [238] The philosophical source of this change in policy can probably be traced back to Thomas Babington Macaulay's theories on Orientalism, contained in his essay, *Minute on Education*, written in 1835. In this essay he denied the existence of an Oriental culture and contended that any culture they received would come through Western culture. He held that, "It is possible to make good English scholars out of the natives of this country, and to this end, our efforts ought to be directed."[239] For annexed Burma, this translated into British authorities abandoning their policy of laissez-faire with regard to education.

The first British efforts at establishing a viable education system can be viewed as attempts to pacify the

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237 John Leroy Christian, Modern Burma (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), 176.

238 ------Quoted in: Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 123.

239 House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1903, Material Progress, 306.

local population and align its loyalty with the British. The British authorities hoped that by "spreading civilization" through education they could "remove superstitious prejudices," inculcate an appreciation for secular learning, and so break any remaining ties to Upper Burma. In essence, the aim was to de-nationalize the population.[240]

In their efforts, British authorities failed to take into account the fundamental characteristics of the indigenous educational system, and were, therefore, initially unsuccessful in their aims. Specifically, they failed to recognize:

1) The magnitude of independence that existed among monasteries.

2) The existence of fluctuations in school attendance based on seasonal farming demands.[241]

The failure to recognize these characteristics in the indigenous education system would characterize British policy through about 1871, when British authorities established a system of lay schools.[242]

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240 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 123.

241 Harvey, British Rule in Burma, 46.

242 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 125.

Further attempts at refining education policy were made in 1866. The Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, for the first time appointed a Director of Public Instruction and ordered Sir Arthur Phayre, Commissioner of British Burma, to construct a plan to systematize the Burmese education system along Western lines.[243] Phayre's plan was predicated on combining primary secular learning with moral teachings and discipline, the mainstay of kyaung education.[244]

Theoretically, it was a workable system which combined the best of both education systems. Phayre attempted to use books containing secular subjects like simple arithmetic, the alphabet, and basic grammatical patterns and give them to the monks to add to their curricula.[245] He used American Baptist missionaries to translate the books into Burmese.[246] It was unfortunate that Phayre, probably Great Britain's foremost scholar on Burma, fell prey to the same policy shortsightedness to which his predecessors had. Phayre's plan, although better conceived, languished because he too failed to consider the effects of the lack of central authority and the lack of cohesion among the kyaung. But Phayre's plan contained another significant oversight. He

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243 Harvey, British Rule in Burma, 46.

244 Bixler, Burma, 185-186.

245 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 124-125.

246 Bixler, Burma, 186.

failed to grasp fully the role of the monk himself. His plan called for the monk to become a full-time instructor; the monk was the only one permitted to give instruction in the monastery.[247] Consequently, monastic responsibility precluded the monk from successfully implementing Phayre's plan because of his extensive duties elsewhere, such as training students in the kyaung and the ko-yin, and conducting his own meditation.[248] As a result of these oversights only forty-six schools had adopted the plan by 1871.[249]

The failure of Phayre's plan led the British government to abandon attempts at refining the education system in Burma by working through the kyaung. Instead, in 1871, the British established a system of lay schools which co-existed alongside the monasteries, the aim of which was to provide the basics of the three "R's" in the vernacular.[250] There was no attempt to offer moral teachings or discipline.

This marked an even further departure by the British from their laissez-faire policies of the past; they began developing a colonial education system based on modified association. Unlike the earlier "live and let live"

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247 Bixler, Burma, 186.

248 Bixler, Burma, 186-187.

249 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 125.

250 Harvey, British Rule in Burma, 46.

philosophy of association, the British sought to have the two systems exist side by side. Contary to the Japanese in Korea, no attempt was made to obliterate the indigenous Burmese system. If the statistics cited earlier with regard to the growth of kyaung are any indication, one can say the British permitted the indigenous system to flourish.

At the heart of modified association lay an increased recognition of social responsibility in the home government in London. The Education Act of 1870 was a manifestation of this new realization. The act sought to provide a fuller measure of mass education in Great Britain by providing local school boards the authority to create schools where needed.[251] In terms of its obligations in Southeast Asia, recognition of social responsibility translated into undertaking a "civilizing mission" through an expanded educational effort. The British had to bear the responsibility of leading the Burmese out of the darkness; this was the essence of the lay school system.

Another factor which facilitated implementing a system of modified association was the British policy of conciliation which they had followed since the early nineteenth-century. As noted earlier, the British went to great lengths to avoid confrontation with the local population while conducting their trade operations in Burma during the early nineteenth-century. Similarly, British

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[251] Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 23.

efforts here were to establish an education system in keeping with their colonial responsibilities while minimizing the chance of antagonizing the local population.

The lay school system was further refined in 1880 through efforts of the Educational Department of the Indian Government. It organized the system along nine standards (grade levels) and divided the system into primary and secondary schools. This represented the first organized school system in Burma.[252] The primary school consisted of the first four years of education and was established to fulfill two purposes. First, the schools sought to instruct the simple elements of reading and writing and simple rules of arithmetic and land survey to "teach the peasant to look after his own interests." [253] The second purpose was "to provide to those with the means and inclination the opportunity to proceed to higher steps of the [education] ladder." [254] The general purpose of primary education in Burma under the British and in Korea under the Japanese seems to have been two-fold. First was to educate the indigenous populations to facilitate the goal of effective economic exploitation. By this I mean that members of the

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[252] Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 203-205.

[253] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1903, Material Progress, 306.

[254] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1903, Material Progress, 306.

local population were educated in various vocational or low skill level jobs in order to use them in the work-force and maximize gain from colonial economic activities. It was less costly to train the indigenous population in menial tasks that it was to transfer a work-force from either Japan or Great Britain. Second was to provide a stepping stone for additional education opportunities to those most qualified for use in higher levels of the colonial administration.

The secondary school was divided into middle and higher education; the former included standards, or grades, 5-7 and the latter, standards 8-9. The curriculum of the primary schools centered on reading, writing, and arithmetic. The secondary schools, in addition to the basic three "R's", introduced such subjects as British history and the study of the British constitution. These moves were very much in keeping with Macaulay's belief that the oriental races would learn culture from the West.[255]

Another difference between the two schools was in the language of instruction. In the primary schools, subjects were taught in Burmese, the vernacular. It represented the common language spoken by all Burmans and most ethnic minorities.[256] English was taught as a separate subject

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255 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 379.

256 Christian, Modern Burma, 11.

for those who planned to attend secondary school.[257] At the primary level, native speakers of English were assigned the task of teaching English because otherwise "the boys would not acquire the correct accent."[258] In the secondary schools, all instruction was in English. Typically, teaching duties were divided between the Burmese, who taught in lay schools, and Britons and Indians, who taught at the secondary level.[259] This system of lay schools remained unchanged through 1898.

The lay schools represented the backbone of Western education efforts in Burma, but they were not the only alternative to education. Mission schools, administered by American Baptists and French Roman Catholics were also active. Admission into mission schools was not limited by sex; they were open to both males and females.[260] Although I was unable to locate any figures which related directly to the percentage of female enrollment, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the percentage of female attendance at mission schools was at least similar to the

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257 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 125.

258 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 125-126.

259 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 125.

260 Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 227-228.

overall percentage of females enrolled in lay schools--5.36%.[261]

The mission curricula were similar to those of the lay school, offering primary instruction in the vernacular and secondary instruction in English. Similarity between curricula was encouraged by the fact that the Education Department of India regularly inspected schools and provided awards and grants to those missions which adhered closest to established department policy.[262]

British Educational Policy from 1898

A major reconfirmation of British education policy began in 1898 when Lord Curzon was made Viceroy of India. His policies are most noted for their emphasis on a return to a more utilitarian approach to education, on an increased education infrastructure, and on an equal educational opportunity for females.[263] His policies did little to effect the content of instruction.

Curzon's efforts at returning to a more utilitarian education system originated from two popular British

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261 House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1914, LXI, Census of India, 1911. The administration of Burma as a colony of Great Britain was overseen by the British colonial government in India. Consequently, statistical demographic data for Burma is included in the Indian census.

262 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 125.

263 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 207-208.

beliefs: first, that Burmese education had become too academic and bookish.[264] The education Burmese youth received beyond the primary level was seen by some British as having little practical value in improving the daily lives of the Burmese. J.S. Furnivall, the British historian, wrote:

> When Curzon reviewed education in India the high hopes of early enthusiasts had faded, and the system of public instruction was generally regarded...as a horrible example of what not to do....The curriculum was condemned as useless.[265]

As a result, Curzon stressed the importance of a utilitarian education which translated into emphasizing the importance of vocational schools, particularly agricultural schools. This served as a counter-balance to the academic side of the education the Burmese were receiving.

This policy, however, met with mixed results. For example, the first agricultural school wasn't established until 1924.[266] In spite of the fact that British Burma experienced a 2.7% annual population growth rate between 1872-1901,[267] there appears to have been no commensurate need for improved agricultural techniques to meet the

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264 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 379.

265 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 379.

266 Hall, Burma, 162.

267 Adapted from figures cited in Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 224.

demands of a growing population. The answer to this is found in the large number of Indians who immigrated to British Burma and filled the void in agriculture. It appears that instead of using advanced agricultural techniques to increase yield to feed a growing population, increased numbers of farmers were used. Many of the agricultural laborers settled in the Irrawaddy delta, a major agricultural region. The earliest figures indicate that by 1861, 73,479 registered Indians were living in British Burma. By 1872, this number had almost doubled to 131,000.[268] Indian immigrants were displacing Burmese laborers, as Furnivall pointed out:

"The labor on the wharves was still Burmese, but unskilled labor in the towns was Indian, and so was most of the skilled and semi-skilled labor."[269]

Curzon's utilitarian oriented policies did, however, meet with some success. By 1900, the British authorities had established ten vocational and technical schools. For example, five normal schools for teacher training, two survey schools under the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, a forest school in Tharrawaddy, a school for

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[268] Report and Proceedings of the Royal Commission on Labor in India (1931), x. Part II, 163; cited in Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice 53.

[269] Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 53.

training mid-wives, and an engineering school were established.[270]

The second cause of Curzon's emphasis on utilitarian education was that during the period 1891-1901, the number of lay schools and student enrollment, which had been rising up to that point, began to decline. For example, in 1891 there were 6,058 lay schools operating in Burma but by 1901, this number had decreased to 4,250. Similarly, student enrollment in 1891 was 131,827 but by 1901 had dipped to 127,066.[271] This was the result of the decreased emphasis placed on primary education and its instruction in the vernacular which led the local population to return to education which was familiar to them--the kyaung.[272] In addition, funds provided by the British government in India were not always used for funding primary education. Instead, local administrations sometimes channeled funds into the development of secondary education and other areas.[273] Curzon's emphasis on expanded education infrastructure can also be traced to this decreasing trend. His efforts can be charted in the number of schools and

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[270] Hall, Burma, 161-162.

[271] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1903, Material Progress, 311.

[272] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1903, Material Progress, 311.

[273] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1903, Material Progress, 311.

student enrollment in Burma. The 1901 figure of 4,250 schools increased to 5,316 by 1911. School enrollment showed a similar increase for the same period, rising from 127,066 to 280,299.[274]

Female education was also positively effected by Curzon's policies. Female literacy is a good indication of the positive effect Curzon's policies had, although it is best measured against that of other British provinces in the Indian empire as opposed to the statistics for Burmese males.[275] Literacy rates among Burmese males was higher because females were not permitted to attend the kyaung. By the mid-term of Curzon's assignment, 44 of every 1000 females were literate. By 1911, this figure had reached 61 out of every 1000.[276] These figures become significant when one compares them to total literacy rates for Bengal and Madras, the two most literate provinces aside from Burma. Literacy rates for both males and females were 77 and 75 per 1000, respectively.[277]

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[274] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1913, XVI, (220) Material Progress; cited in Ames, "Impacts of British Rule," 230-234.

[275] Literacy was defined as the ability to read and write in any language. The measure was "whether or not a person could write a letter to a friend and he read his reply." Parliamentary Papers, 1914, Census of India, 1911, 288-330.

[276] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1914, Census of India, 1911, 867; Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 227.

[277] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1914, Census of India, 1911, 867.

Higher Education

Higher education in Burma was the result of measures taken to revise education by the Education Department Board of Examiners of the British government in India in 1880.[278] The measures organized the Burmese education system into nine standards and provided for the Rangoon Government High School to develop a "higher department."[279] The department, affiliated with Calcutta University, functioned as a college preparatory school or junior college and prepared students for degree producing courses of study at the university. The department gained college status in 1884 and became known as Rangoon College.[280]

The emphasis of the college was on liberal arts, law, and English.[281] British authorities believed this type of curriculum would prepare Burmese students for a university program of instruction in Calcutta, which was conducted entirely in English. The problem that instruction in English presented is evidenced by the fact that by 1918, 34 years after the establishment of Rangoon college, only 400 students from Burma had matriculated at Calcutta University,

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278 Hall, Burma, 161.

279 Hall, Burma, 161.

280 Hall, Burma, 161.

281 Hall, Burma, 162.

many of whom were Indians or Anglo-Indians living in Burma.[282] Furnivall wrote that "The masters of the middle and higher schools are chiefly Englishmen or natives of India, who cannot make Burmese the vehicle of instruction; and so the boys do not really grasp what they are taught."[283]

As a result of the low numbers of Burmese students able to take advantage of a Calcutta University education, the British authorities began to establish other schools of higher learning, most of which operated on the utilitarian principle espoused by Curzon. By 1900, the government operated five teachers' training schools, and engineering school, a forestry school, and a school for training mid-wives. In addition, by 1907, it operated a medical school in Rangoon. All of these schools taught in the vernacular. The Baptist missionaries also operated a small college for Karens, the American Baptist College, in Rangoon.[284]

The major drawback with this system of higher education was that it still required outside sanction for legitimacy. None of the schools were considered capable of fully training their graduates to take anything but low entry-

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282 Frank Trager, Burma: From Kingdom to Republic (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966), 369.

283 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 125-126.

284 Hall, Burma, 162.

level positions.[285] This is because there existed a ranking between the graduates of the institutions of higher learning--graduates of Calcutta University were considered superior to the graduates of the schools in Burma. As a consequence, matriculation was also required at Calcutta University for Burmese students who planned to rise in their professions.[286] The course of study offered by the two institutions did not differ significantly. Additionally, both used Britons and Indians as instructors. As an example, a graduate of the medical school was considered qualified to be a medical assistant. Unless the student matriculated at Calcutta University, he/she would probably not rise above that position. [287]

Thus, the establishment of higher institutions of learning in Burma failed to alleviate the dependence on Calcutta University as the sole source of higher learning in the region. British authorities sought to rectify this by enacting the Rangoon University Act in 1920.[288] The act brought together the higher educational assets of Rangoon College, the medical, engineering, and forestry schools and merged them with the American Baptist College in a new

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285 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 126-127.

286 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 120; 126-127.

287 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, 126-127.

288 Maung Htin Aung, The Stricken Peacock: Anglo-Burmese Relations, 1752-1948 (The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1965), 102-103.

Rangoon University. The new Rangoon University was consolidated into two colleges--the University College, previously Rangoon College and Judson College, previously the American Baptist College.[289]

There were two significant effects of the act. First, it provided Burma with its own university, which permitted Burmese students to pursue their entire educational career through a Burmese school system. This went a long way in satiating nationalist feelings regarding the establishment of a national school system, although not completely.[290] Second, it consolidated an otherwise dispersed education system which led to more efficient organization and uniform administration.

The university curriculum reflected its component parts. It offered degrees in arts and science, law, forestry, engineering, and medicine. In 1924, the university also added an agricultural course of instruction at Mandalay.[291] The success of Rangoon University can be measured by its student enrollment. (See Appendix A, Table 2)

The success of Rangoon University can be further measured in the number of degrees conferred. In 1921, twenty-one degrees were awarded to Burmese students at

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289 Hall, Burma, 162.

290 Maung Htin Aung, Stricken Peacock, 102-103.

291 Hall, Burma, 162.

Calcutta University, all of which were in Arts and Science. None were awarded by Rangoon University. By comparison, in 1926, Rangoon University awarded 103 degrees--85 in Arts and Science and 18 in Law.[292]

Emergence of a Nationalist Education Movement

Between 1905-1910, a nationalist movement developed in Burma very similar to the one which occurred in Korea during the protectorate period. The movement called for political reforms and independence from India. Ironically, it was the Japanese victories against the Russians which acted as a catalyst for the movement. The Burmese identified with the Japanese, as did most other Southeast Asians, because they considered them of similar ethnic stock.[293] Hence, they equated the ability of the Japanese to defeat a major Western power with their own ability to throw off the yolk of colonial oppression. Interestingly, the movement was furthered by the increased level of literacy and the widespread growth of newspapers which helped spread the news of Japanese victories and spawn feelings of nationalism.[294] Simultaneously, there emerged a national education movement.

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[292] Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 232.

[293] Maung Htin Aung. Stricken Peacock 100-107. Ba Maw, Breakthrough in Burma (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), 7-10.

[294] Maung Htin Aung, Stricken Peacock, 103.

It sought to establish a strictly Burmese national education system which could compete with the British education system in quality yet remain independent of it. The education movement was organized by the Young Mens Buddhist Association (Y.M.B.A.), the members of which were primarily young lawyers, clerks, and college students.[295]

The aims of the Y.M.B.A. differed from the aims of kyaung. The kyaung were content to co-exist along side the British system and fill the education void in villages. The aim of the Y.M.B.A. was to develop a system of national schools to supplant the British system. The result of their efforts was the development of a system of national schools which conformed to all Department of Education standards of the British government in India. The primary difference was that the curriculum also contained liberal doses of Buddhist Scripture study.[296] Aside from this, the new curriculum developed by the Y.M.B.A. was very similar to what the British school system offered. This was wholly unlike the nationalist feelings which emerged in Korea. The Koreans wanted to rid themselves totally of the Japanese education system. The Burmese, on the other hand, apparently saw the value of what the British had to offer and used it as a guide in developing their own system.

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[295] Maung Htin Aung, Stricken Peacock, 100.

[296] Maung Htin Aung, Stricken Peacock, 102.

The movement slowed between 1914-1918 because of World War I, but began to emerge again in 1919 after the British promulgated the Government of India Act which provided India with a larger measure of political autonomy over its own affairs.[297] The act provided for establishing a dyarchy in India, but failed to address political reforms in Burma. The Y.M.B.A. responded by organizing a nationwide boycott of British-made products.[298]

Nationalist sentiment was further fuelled by the promulgation of the University of Rangoon Act in 1920 which gave the British government control of the university. Normal British practice recognized the autonomy of universities as in the cases of Oxford and Cambridge.[299] In response to the University Act, Rangoon College and other government schools went on strike. Simultaneously, various nationalist groups emerged and formed, along with the Y.M.B.A., the Council of National Education.[300] The Council was successful in continuing the pre-war efforts of the Y.M.B.A. and established several new national schools. Its biggest success was in the establishment of a national

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297 Maung Htin Aung, Stricken Peacock, 101.

298 Maung Htin Aung. Stricken Peacock, 102.

299 Maung Htin Aung, Stricken Peacock, 102.

300 Maung Htin Aung, Stricken Peacock, 103.

university. It differed little from Rangoon College with the exception that it was independent of the British system.[301]

The popular support given to the movement led British authorities to take several active steps to quell it. First, they amended the University Act, granting Rangoon University a much larger measure of autonomy in its daily operations and the curriculum it offered. Second, they established the position of Burmese Education Minister and appointed as minister the president of the Council of National Education, the impetus behind the Burmese National Education Movement.[302] This measure removed the Council's leadership and effectively defused the Movement's momentum. Additionally, financial support for the National University established by the Y.M.B.A., which up to that point had been provided by student tuition, dwindled and the university quickly folded because students began attending Rangoon University.

The National Education Movement was successful in terms of achieving what it had set out to accomplish. Its goal of autonomy for the university was granted by British authorities; the university had the right to offer a wider curriculum, which was representative of its components parts, as noted earlier. The movement also served as the spearhead for the larger movement demanding independence

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301 Maung Htin Aung, Stricken Peacock, 103.

302 Maung Htin Aung, Stricken Peacock, 103.

from India and the establishment of a dyarchy in Burma. Promulgation of the Burmese constitution in 1923 attests to its success.[303] Another success was the peaceful manner in which the Burmese gained these concessions. Unlike the bloodshed which accompanied the March 1st Movement in Korea, boycotts, strikes, and an educational separatist movement helped press British authorities into making concessions.

Success of British Education Policy

The success of British education policy in Burma must be measured by how well it met its stated aims and by its effect on Burmese society. The goals of the British colonial administration were two-fold. First was to provide a basic secular education and to make it available to the masses.[304] Second was to provide additional educational opportunities to those with the desire and means to take advantage of it.

The figures for the increase in the number of combined primary and secondary schools reveal an overall commitment to the goals of emphasizing primary education for the mass population. Considering the forty-year period 1891-1931, the numbers of public schools increased by 18.3%, from 6,048

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303 Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 64.

304 House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1903, Material Progress, 306.

to 7,418.[305] Similarly, total student enrollment increased by 52.3%, from 196,000 to 410,101.[306] Growth was not entirely steady. There was a slump period between 1919-1925 when there were a high number of deaths due to an influenza epidemic. This, however, was an aberration.[307] A comparable pattern emerges when one considers the total number of children enrolled in school as a percentage of the population. Between the years 1891-1931, the rate increased from 2.5% to 3.2%.[308] Evidence of the British success in accomplishing the second goal is seen in the creation of a school system from primary school through the university level.

The British were equally successful with regard to their policy of modified association. Modified association in education is what led to the development and continued existence of two education systems in Burma. That the indigenous school system of kyaung was permitted the freedom to develop alongside the government school system can be

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[305] Adapted from statistics contained in Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 230-233.

[306] Adapted from statistics contained in Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 224; 230-233.

[307] Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 225.

[308] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1903, Material Progress, 1901-1902; Parliamentary Papers, 1913, Material Progress,1911-1912; and Parliamentary Papers, 1928, Statistical Abstract; adapted from Ames, "Impacts of British Rule" 230-233.

seen in the kyaung growth and enrollment rates. (See Appendix A, Table 3) As the figures indicate, there was an increase in the number of kyaung during the period. Thus, instead of the colonial system supplanting the indigenous system, as was the case in Korea, it was permitted to exist. This is not to say that the British took active measures to promote their growth, only that there was a passive acceptance of the indigenous system. The growth of enrollment in the kyaung may be traced back to the British effort to improve the welfare of the Burmese people. With the introduction of Western medicine, improved sanitation, and flood control, the birth rates increased while the death rates decreased. (See Appendix A, Table 4) As a result, there was a commensurate increase in the number of kyaung to support growing village populations.

The continued existence of kyaung had an important effect on the population in general. Their continued existence minimized the growth of nationalist education movements. With the exception of the short-lived education movement in the early 1920s, little else ever developed, and even this movement was limited in participation to those students within the British school system. The answer can be found in the role of kyaung in society. The kyaung were the custodians of Burmese culture. There was one in practically every village which served as the education, religious, and cultural center around which village life

revolved.[309] When the British left this mechanism in place, they also made the tacit decision to leave an important facet of Burmese culture intact. This helped to reduce the feelings of estrangement which might have otherwise accompanied an occupation, as was the case with Japan in Korea.

The rise in literacy rates among Burmese males and females was another effect of British colonial education policy. In fact, the policy in Burma was so successful that literacy ranked higher there than in any other Indian province, as previously noted.[310] (See Appendix A, Table 5)

In the case of male literacy, it should be remembered that the high figures are partially attributable to the efforts of the kyaung. Although no figures were available as to the number of persons per 1,000 who became literate through the kyaung system, with the continued growth in kyaung between 1912-1931, it is not unreasonable to assume that they contributed in some measure to the increased literacy rates.

Surprisingly, there was little difference in the role played by the kyaung and the British education system; both separated the better students and permitted them to continue

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309 Harvey, British Rule in Burma, 46.

310 House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1911 Census of India, 293.

their education. Claims by such writers as Norma Bixler that the British system was elitist and therefore foreign to the Burmese culture are not wholly based in fact.[311] Their ultimate goals were, in a sense, very similar. In the kyaung, few students entered the ko-yin stage at the conclusion of their primary education. Even fewer went on to monastic centers to study. The rigors of study weeded out the weaker students. Similarly, the British system sought to separate the better students and afford them the opportunity to continue their education.

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[311] Bixler, Burma, 185-186.

PART IV

CONCLUSIONS

Japanese and British colonial systems shared a multitude of similarities. Both viewed their respective colonies as backward and developmentally stagnant. Both saw themselves as saviors of a destitute culture. Consequently, the premise from which they proceeded was similar. Japan and Great Britain both undertook a civilizing mission in their respective colonies and used education as the primary tool through which to accomplish it. There are also important differences. I will concentrate on what caused the differences and how those differences led to success in the case of the British in Burma and failure in the case of the Japanese in Korea. I am measuring success or failure in a rather narrow sense, basing it solely on how well each satisfied the aims of its colonial education policies.

Consider, for example, their respective motives for undertaking colonialism. British advancement into Burmese territory was primarily a tactical response to Burmese affronts against British citizens and employees of the East India Company. British annexation of Burmese territory was both a strategic and tactical attempt to place the Burmese at a military disadvantage in the region, thus forestalling the need for future tactical responses. To achieve their goals, the British had no need to rob the Burmese of their

cultural distinctiveness and make Britons of them. Rather, British colonial policy was shaped by two opposing outside influences--the desire to avoid increased colonial responsibility, and a growing sense of social responsibility. The former represents British policy in the first half of the nineteenth-century and led to the Governor-General's policy of conciliation. The latter became dominant in the second half of the century, particularly after 1870, and manifested itself in the British policy of modified association. An inherent part of modified association was the responsibility to enlighten their "little brown brothers" from Burma, hence the rationale for establishing a colonial education system.

Although the Japanese also operated from the belief that they had a civilizing mission in Korea, the Japanese-Korean relationship differed significantly from the British-Burmese relationship. From the very outset, the Japanese purpose was total amalgamation of Koreans into Japanese culture. The Japanese perception of the colonial relationship was the by-product of special features of the Japanese-Korean relationship over the centuries; nowhere else in the empire did the Japanese pursue this type of relationship.

The first special feature of the relationship was the Japanese belief in their cultural superiority. The second was the strong Neo-Confucian influence which remained after

the Tokugawa era.[312] Neo-Confucianism stressed the importance of loyalty and filial piety, which were used to rationalize and maintain a rigid, hierarchial social order. These elements were present in the Japanese-Korean relationship. The legacy of kokugaku provided the rationale for Japanese superiority, while ultra-nationalists provided the link to the past by establishing an historical right to Korea--Neo-Confucianism reinforced both convictions.

Before considering how colonial policy affected the indigenous populations of the Korean and Burmese colonies, it is important to understand something of their composition. The peoples of Burma are multi-ethnic, as noted previously. But more importantly, most of the ethnic minorities--Mons, Arakanese, Assamese, Kachin, and Chin, had at one time or another been defeated by the dominant Burman culture. Thus, Burma had to be considered a regional imperial power in its own right. The territory the British annexed after each of the two wars with Burma represented territory Burma itself had conquered; its inhabitants were not ethnic Burmese. British annexation of the territory was not commensurate to loss of independence; rather I see it as having represented a change of stewardship. This ultimately had a positive effect on how the Burmese reacted to British efforts in colonial education.

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312 Hunter, Modern Japan, 185.

The Koreans, on the other hand, are racially and culturally homogeneous, like the Japanese. This fact in itself made Japanese plans for amalgamation problematic. The fact that Korea had a long history of independence, in addition to its homogeneity, almost assured the failure of amalgamation.

What was the effect of the Japanese and British colonial education policy on Korea and Burma? Japanese and British policies led to increased enrollment in their respective education systems; this is evident in growth figures of total student enrollment. (See Appendix A, Table 6). While the figures show a growth for both systems, they mask important differences. The major difference was that education under the Japanese colonial administration was compulsory through primary school, while the British education system was voluntary. Additionally, by 1925 only 12.33% of the school-aged population in Korea between the ages of 6-12 was enrolled in public school. By 1930, this figure had increased to 13.53%.[313] Conversely, by 1901, 22.8% of school-aged children in Burma were attending the lay schools British authorities had established.[314] This

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[313] Yunshik Clang, "Population in Early Modernization: Korea," diss. Princeton University, 1966; as cited in: Tai Hwan Kwon, The Population of Korea (Seoul: The Population and Development Center, 1975). 59.

[314] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1902, XLVI (249), 895.

number reached 31.2% by 1911.[315] Thus, within roughly similar lengths of time, thirty years for the British and twenty-five years for the Japanese, the British were educating almost twice as many students, as a percentage of the school-aged population, than were the Japanese. To what can these results be attributed? One must return to the goals of the Japanese and British colonial administrations and their methods of implementation. Japan's goals of de-nationalization and assimilation of the Korean population relied heavily on the obliteration of Korean culture and language. Conversely, British aims, although not devoid of self-interests, addressed what they perceived as their social responsibility to carry out a civilizing mission in Burma. Consequently, the Burmese culture was left largely intact and education, at least at the primary level, was conducted primarily in the vernacular. These efforts were probably perceived as having been less threatening, and as a result, induced a larger percentage of the Burmese population to enroll their children in the British school system.

Additionally, after 1920, the growth in the number of Japanese public schools came at the expense of alternative avenues of education like the suhtang while the British system grew in spite of a continued growth among kyaung.

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[315] House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1914, Census of India, 873.

The suhtang fell from a high of 25,486 in 1919 to approximately 3,052 by 1942.[316] Conversely, the kyaung continued to grow and by 1925 had reached 18,489.[317]

Similarly, the effect of colonial higher education policy can be measured by a comparison of the percentage of Korean and Burmese university students which comprised total university enrollment. By 1930, a total of 276 Korean students were enrolled in Keijō University in Korea, either in the preparatory course or regular university course.[318] At no time, however, did Koreans ever exceed one-third the total number of university students; the remainder were Japanese. By comparison, 1,590 students were attending Rangoon University by 1930, all of whom who were Burmese.[319]

For the British it represented the goal of extending advanced educational opportunity to Burmese youth for the purpose of training a local workforce for use in the economic development of Burma. The Japanese, on the other hand, used the university more as a tool of appeasement; it was established to forestall the "Peoples' University Movement" from developing into another Sam Il movement.

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316 Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy" ,421-423.

317 Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 232.

318 Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 407.

319 House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1931-32, XXV, Statistical Abstract for British India, 368.

Consequently, only the minimal number of Korean students were permitted to enroll so as to maintain appearances.

British education policies, in terms of their stated goals, were successful. The first aim which they sought was mass primary education. This was accomplished through the network of lay schools the British established and furthered by the growth of kyaung. The British were also successful in reaching their second goal of providing opportunities for advanced education. They established a system of government high schools and technical schools which led to the development of Rangoon University in 1920. This represented the first organized school system ever established in Burma.

A by-product of British education was Burma's National Education Movement. The composition of the movement reveals the strong influence of British schools; most adherents were students or recent graduates. More importantly, the entire movement was conducted via peaceful means. Thus, as opposed to rebellions, there were boycotts and strikes, not the usual means of protest in pre-annexed Burma.[320]

Japanese results, if measured solely by the goal of de-nationalizing and assimilating the Korean people, must be considered a failure. Although certain aspects of assimilation policy, such as economic integration, were successful, the overall results indicate failure. An

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320 Hall, Europe and Burma, 108-182.

excellent measure of failure were the Sam Il and Kwang-ju revolts and the force which the Japanese employed to quell them.

This is not to say that the Japanese colonial administration left no positive legacies. The school system outlived the colonial era. Prior to Japanese efforts, there had barely existed a primary school system in Korea. Between 1905-1926, the Japanese constructed an entire educational system through the university level. Thus, in considering whether Japan's colonial policy was a failure, one must also consider the value of the educational infrastructure it left behind.

Appendix A

Table 1: Total of Private and Public Schools in Korea through 1919

Year	Private Schools*	Public Schools
1911	2225	128
1915	1154	410
1919	742	482

(Does not include Suhtang)

(Adapted from Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 392)

Table 2: Total Number of Students Matriculating at Rangoon University, 1929-30

	Arts and Science	Law	Medicine	Education	Agriculture
Males	1159	113	70	24	38
Females	171	2	8	5	--
Total	1330	115	78	29	38

House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1931-32, XXV, Statistaical Abstract for British India, 368.

Table 3: Total Enrollment Figures

Year	Kyaung/Students
1912	16,675/174,945
1925	18,489/203,710
1931	18,385/230,196

(Adapted from figures contained in Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 230-234.)

Table 4: Excess of Births Over Deaths

Year	Rate
1891	4.81%
1901	10.4%
1911	7.5%
1921	8.4%
1931	9.7%

(Adapted from figures contained in Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 225)

Table 5: Literacy Rates

(per 1,000)

Year	Male	Female
1901	376	44
1911	376	61
1921	400	90
1931	484	112

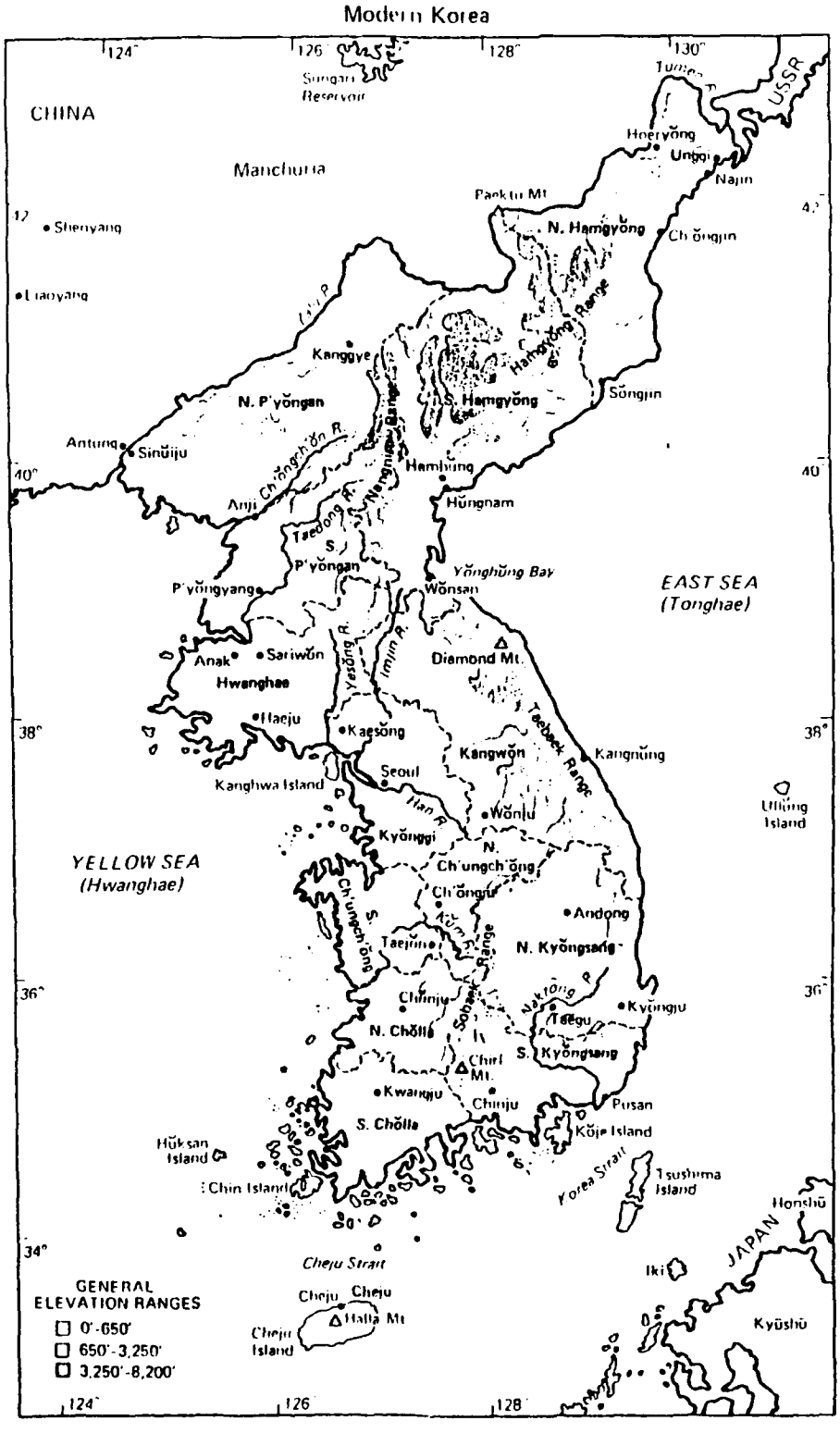
(Adapted from figures contained in Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 227-229)

Table 6: Total Number of Students in Public Schools

Date	Burma	Date	Korea
1901	316,156		
		1910	10,994
1912	280,299		
		1919	84,306
1925	410,101	1925	363,324
1930	468,601	1930	463,966

(Adapted from figures in Ames, "Impacts of British Rule", 230-233 and Dong, "Japanese Colonial Policy", 392-398.

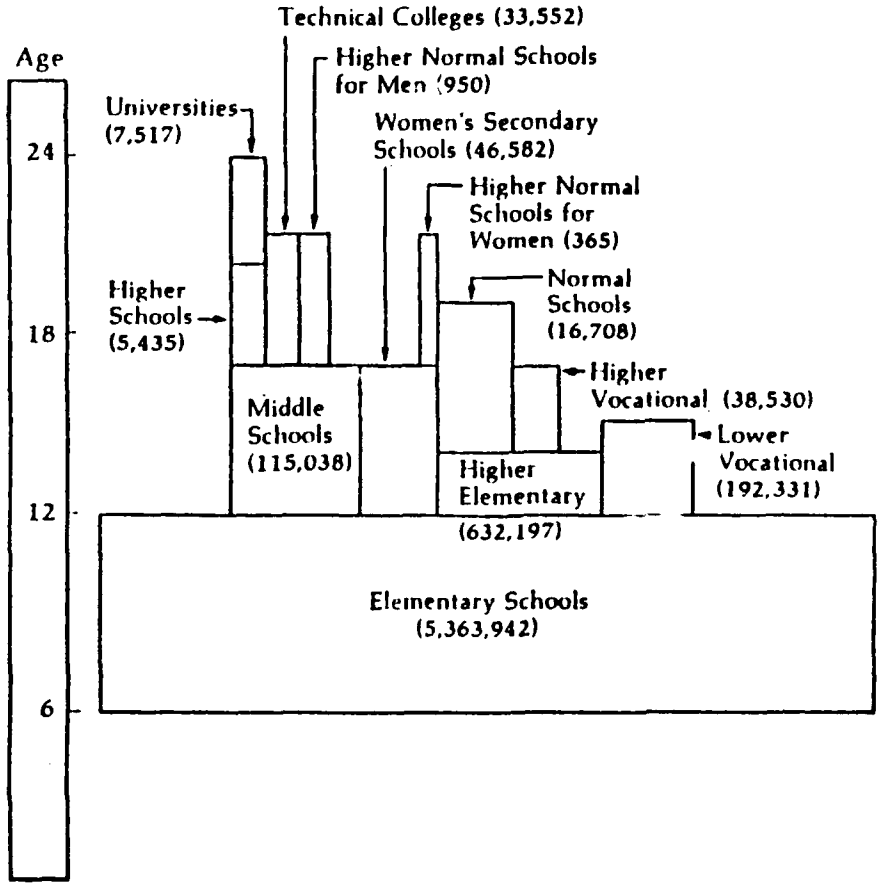
Appendix B



William E. Henthorn, History of Korea (New York: Free Press, 1971), 1.

Appendix C

Student Enrollments in Imperial Japan (1908)



Roden, Schooldays in Imperial Japan, Appendix II.

Appendix D

Colonial Administrations, 1905-1943

Itō Hirobumi
1905-1909

Sone Arakuse
1909-1910

Protectorate Period
1905-1909

Terauchi Masatake
1910-1916

Hasegawa Yoshimichi
1916-1919

Budan Seiji (Military Dictatorship)
1910-1919

Saitō Makoto
1919-1927

Yamanashi Hanzo
1927-1929

Saitō Makoto
1929-1931

Bunka Seiji (Cultural Rule)
1919-1931

Ugaki Kazushige
1931-1936

Integration Period

Minami Jirō
1936-1941

Naisen Ittai (Unity of Homeland and Korea)

Koiso Kuniaki
1941-1944

Abe Nobuyuki
1944-1945

Governors-General During the War Years

Compiled from: The Japan Biographical Encyclopedia 1964-65, 3rd Ed., Tokyo: Rengo Press, 1965; Britannica International Encyclopedia, 15th ed., 1974; Dai hyaka jiten [encyclopedia], Shimonaka Kunihiko, ed., (Tokyo: Shuppansha, 1965); and Brudnoy, "Japan's Experiment in Korea", Monumenta Nipponica.

David P. Henige, Colonial Governors From the Fifteenth Century to the Present (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), 204.

Appendix E

Chronology of Events Through 1931

Date	Event
1876	Treaty of Kanghwa. Japan and Korea sign a commercial treaty which opens the Korean ports of Inchon, Pusan and Wonsan to the Japanese. The treaty also granted rights of extraterritoriality to Japanese citizens.
1894	The Tonghak Rebellion occurred as a result of the ruinous economic conditions in rural Korea. These conditions were exacerbated by the usurious loans Japanese rice dealers made to Korean farmers. The rebellion ultimately led to a clash between Japanese and Chinese troops and the Sino-Japanese war, 1894-1895.
1895	The Treaty of Shimonoseki formally ended hostilities between Japan and China in the Sino-Japanese war. It

	also forced China to recognize Korean independence and break their centuries old suzerain-vassal relationship.
1895	Japanese officials in Seoul become involved in the murder plot of the Korean queen, Queen Min.
1904	The first in a series of accords signed between the Korean and Japanese governments. This accord gave Japan the responsibility for maintaining Korea's territorial integrity and independence.
1905	The second accord transferred control of all Korea's postal, telegraph, and telephone services to Japan. The third accord granted Japanese vessels the right to navigate the coastal and inland waters of Korea. The final accord made Korea a protectorate of Japan; Japan assumed all responsibility

	for Korea's foreign affairs. Itō Hirobumi became the first Resident-General.
1907	The Residency-General promulgated the Seven Article Treaty which gave Japanese authorities control over Korea's internal affairs. Japanese authorities also forced the abdication of the Korean king. All of this was in reaction to the secret mission the Korean king dispatched to the Hague in 1906 in an attempt to garner international support for Korean independence.
1909	Itō resigns as Resident-General and is followed by Sone Arakuse.
1909	Itō is murdered in Harbin, Manchuria by a Korean ultra-nationalist.
1910	Korea is formally annexed and General Terauchi Masatake becomes the first Governor-General.

1916	General Hasegawa Yoshimichi becomes Governor-General.
1919	The former king of Korea dies which spark riots in downtown Seoul. (March 1st Movement) As a result of the riots, Admiral Saito Makoto becomes Governor-General.
1927	General Yamanashi becomes Governor-General.
1929	Admiral Saito is reassigned as Governor-General.
1931	General Ugaki Kazushige is assigned as Governor-General.

Compiled from: Bong-youn Choy, Korea: A History (Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1971); Hilary Conroy, Japan's Seizure of Korea, 1868-1910 (New Jersey: University Associated Press, 1973); Andrew Nahm, Korea Under Japanese Colonial Rule (Kalamazoo: West Mich. Univ. Press, 1973) Ko, Seung Kyun, "The March 1st Movement", Korean Quarterly: 14 (1972)

Appendix F

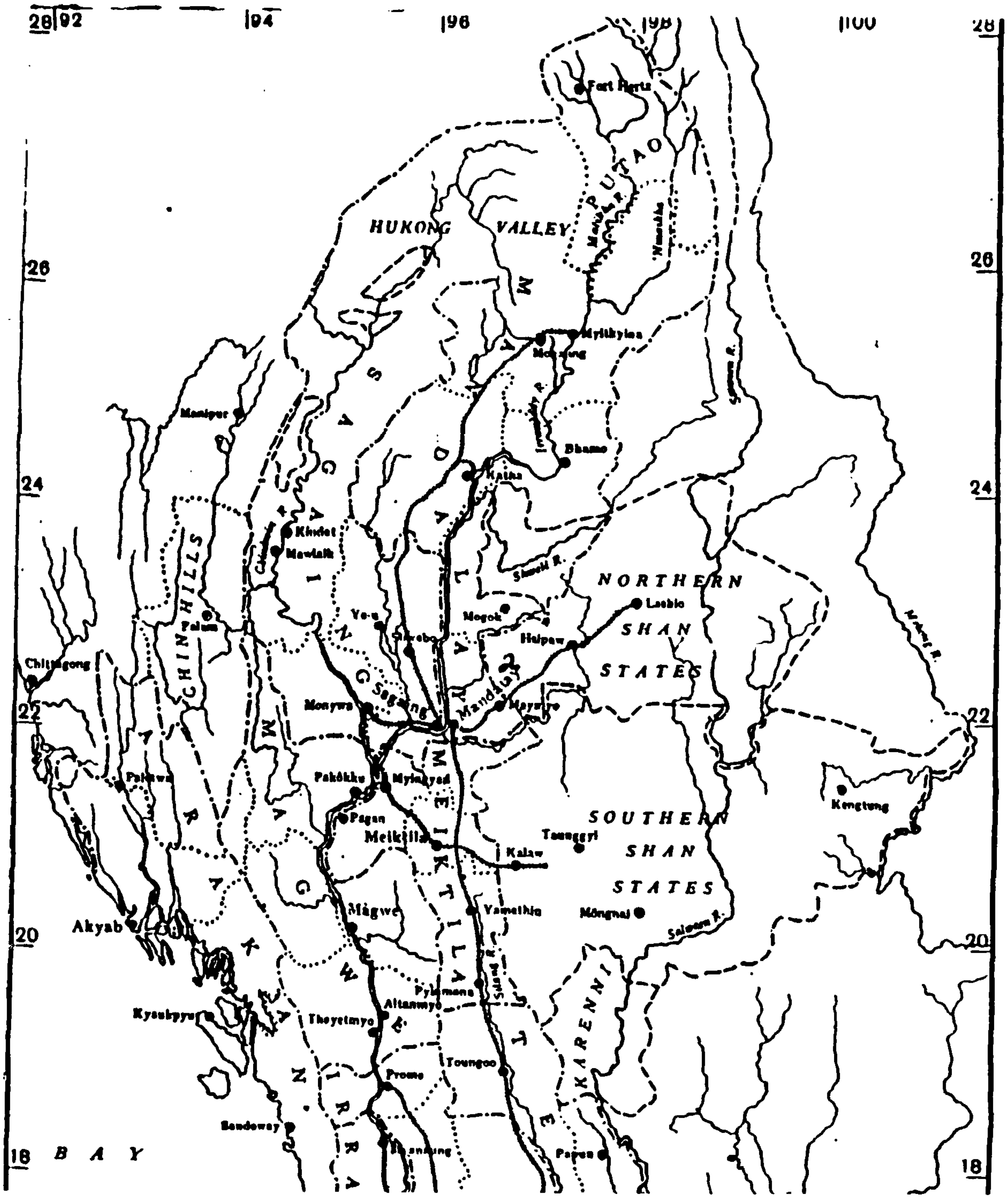
Glossary

Budan Seiji	武断政治
Bunka Seiji	文化政治
Dai Ajia shugi	大アジア主義
Daitō Gappō Ron	大東合邦論
Dejima	出島
Genyōsha	玄洋社
Keiō	慶応
Kojiki	古事記
Kokugaku	国学
Kokuryūkai	黒龍会
Kokutai	国体
Mimana	任那
Nagasaki	長崎
Naisen Ittai	内鮮一体
Nihon shoki	日本書記
Sakoku	鎖国
Shokumin seisaku	植民政策
Shūshin	修身
Tairiku rōnin	大陸浪人
Terakoya	寺子屋
Tokugawa Jiki	徳川時期
Tsushima	対馬
Waseda	早稲田

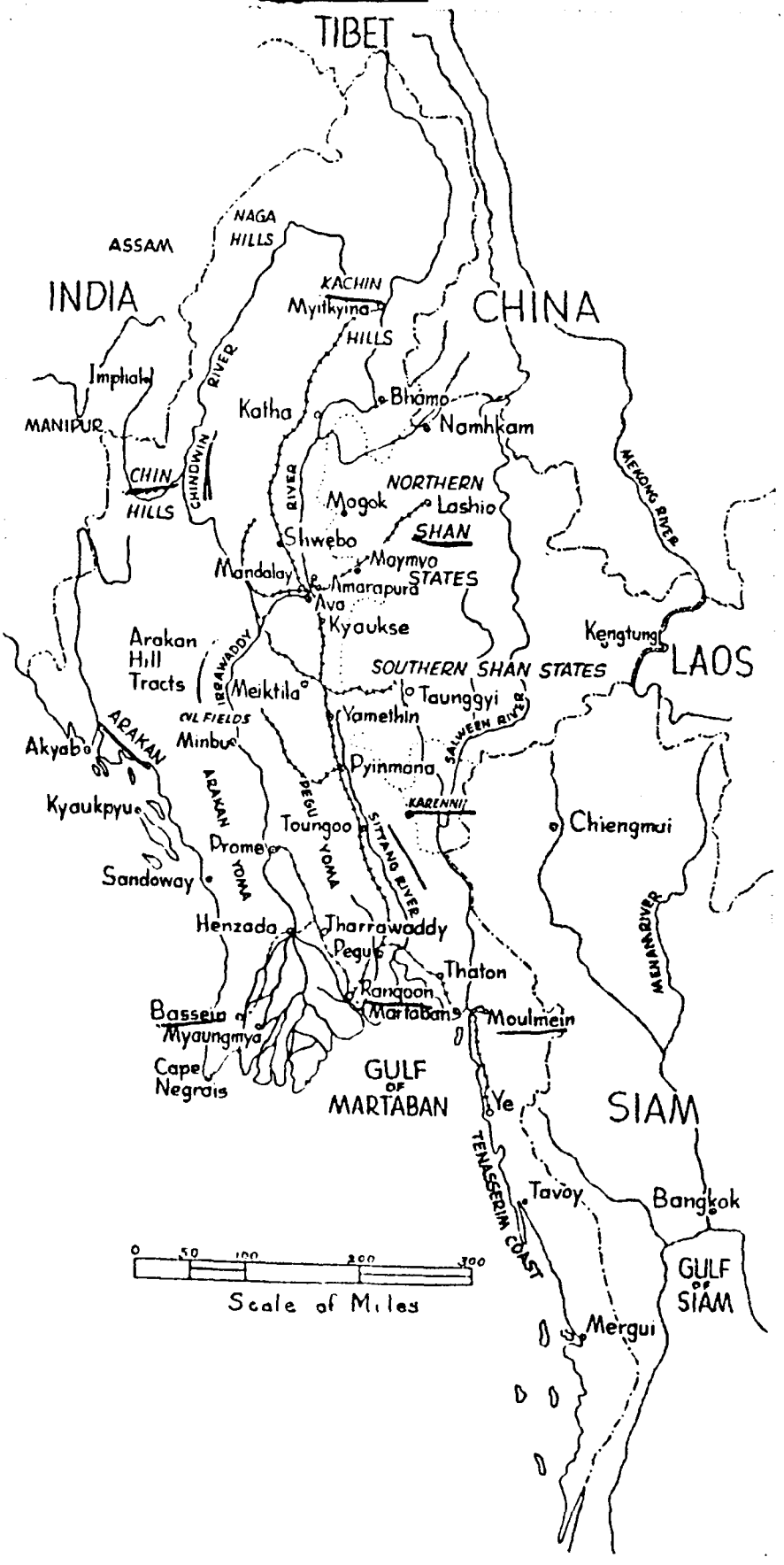
Glossary of Surnames

Fukuzawa Yukichi	福沢諭吉
Hara Kei	原敬
Hasegawa Yoshimichi	長谷川好道
Hattori Unokichi	服部宇之吉
Hiraoka Kōtarō	平岡浩太郎
Itō Hirobumi	伊藤博文
Kada Tadaomi	加太忠臣
Katsura Tarō	桂太郎
Minami Jirō	南次郎
Saitō Makoto	斎藤実
Shimazaki Tōson	島崎藤村
Shōtoku Taishi	聖徳太子
Tarui Tōkichi	樽井藤吉
Terauchi Masatake	寺内正毅
Toyotomi Hideyoshi	豊臣秀吉
Uchida Ryōhei	内田良平
Yamagata Aritomo	山県有朋
Yamato	大和
Yoshida Masao	吉田正男

Appendix G


HUKONG VALLEY
PUTAO
Fort Hertz
Myitkyina
Bhamo
Katha
Manipur
Kindat
Mawlaik
CHIN HILLS
NORTHERN SHAN STATES
Lashio
Hsipaw
Mogok
Ye-u
Shwebo
Monywa
Sagaing
Mandalay
Maymyo
Chittagong
Pakokku
Myingyan
Pagan
Meiktila
Kalaw
Taunggyi
SOUTHERN SHAN STATES
Kengtung
Akyab
Magwe
Yamethin
Mongnai
KARENNI
Pyinmana
Allanmyo
Thayetmyo
Kyaukpyu
Toungoo
Prome
Sandoway
Papun
BAY
ARAKAN
MAGWE
MANDALAY
MEIKTILA
SAGAING
IRRAWADDY

Appendix H



Burma

John F. Cady, A History of Modern Burma Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1958), front page.

Appendix I

Late 18th and 19th Century Burmese Monarchs

Name	Years of Reign
Bodaw Paya	1784-1819
Bagyidaw	1819-1837
Tharrawaddi	1837-1846
Pagan Min	1846-1853
Mindon Min	1853-1878
Thibaw	1878-1885

Compiled from: D.G.E. Hall, Burma (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1950); D.G.E. Hall Europe and Burma (London: Oxford University Press, 1945)

Appendix J

19th Century British Governors-General to India

Names	Years of Administration
Frances Hastings	1813-1823
William Amherst	1823-1828
William Bentinck	1828-1835
George Auckland	1835-1842
Edward Ellenborough	1842-1844
Charles Hardinge	1844-1847
James Dalhousie	1847-1856
Charles Canning	1856-1862
James Bruce Elgin	1862-1864
John Lawrence	1864-1869
Richard Mayo	1869-1872
Thomas Northbrook	1872-1876
Robert Lytton	1876-1880
George Ripon	1880-1884
Frederick Dufferin	1884-1888
Henry Lansdowne	1888-1894
Victor Bruce Elgin	1894-1898
George Curzon	1898-1905

Compiled from: Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th edition, 1987; M.A. Rahim, Lord Dalhousie's Administration of the Conquered and Annexed States New Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1963); W.F.B. Laurie Our Burmese Wars (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1880); and David P. Henige, Colonial Governors, 126.

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Name: Jacques L. Fuqua, Jr.

Date of Birth: 28 September 1957

Place of Birth: Homestead, Florida

Education: Bachelor of Science, Business Administration,
Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio
August 1979